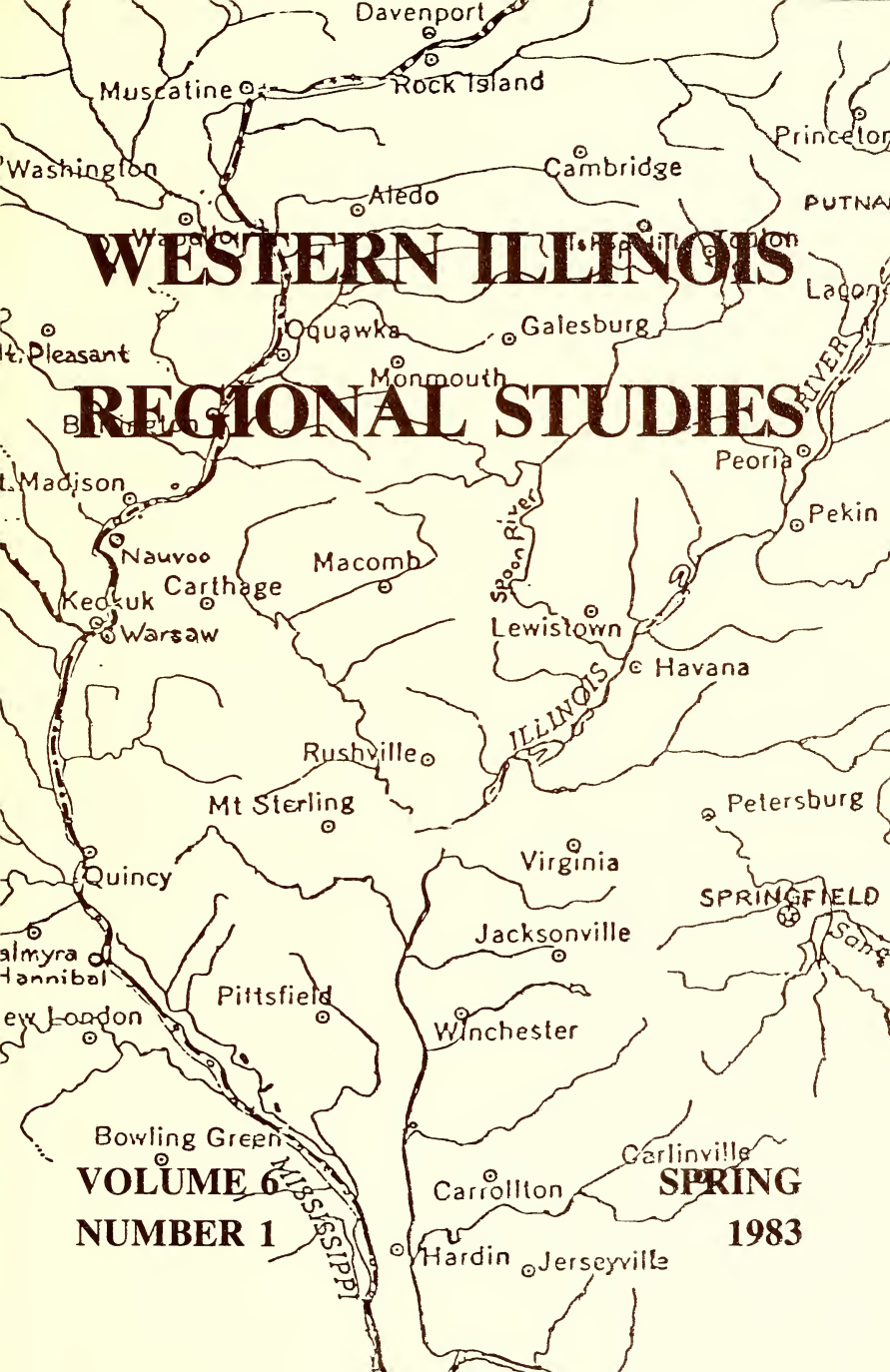

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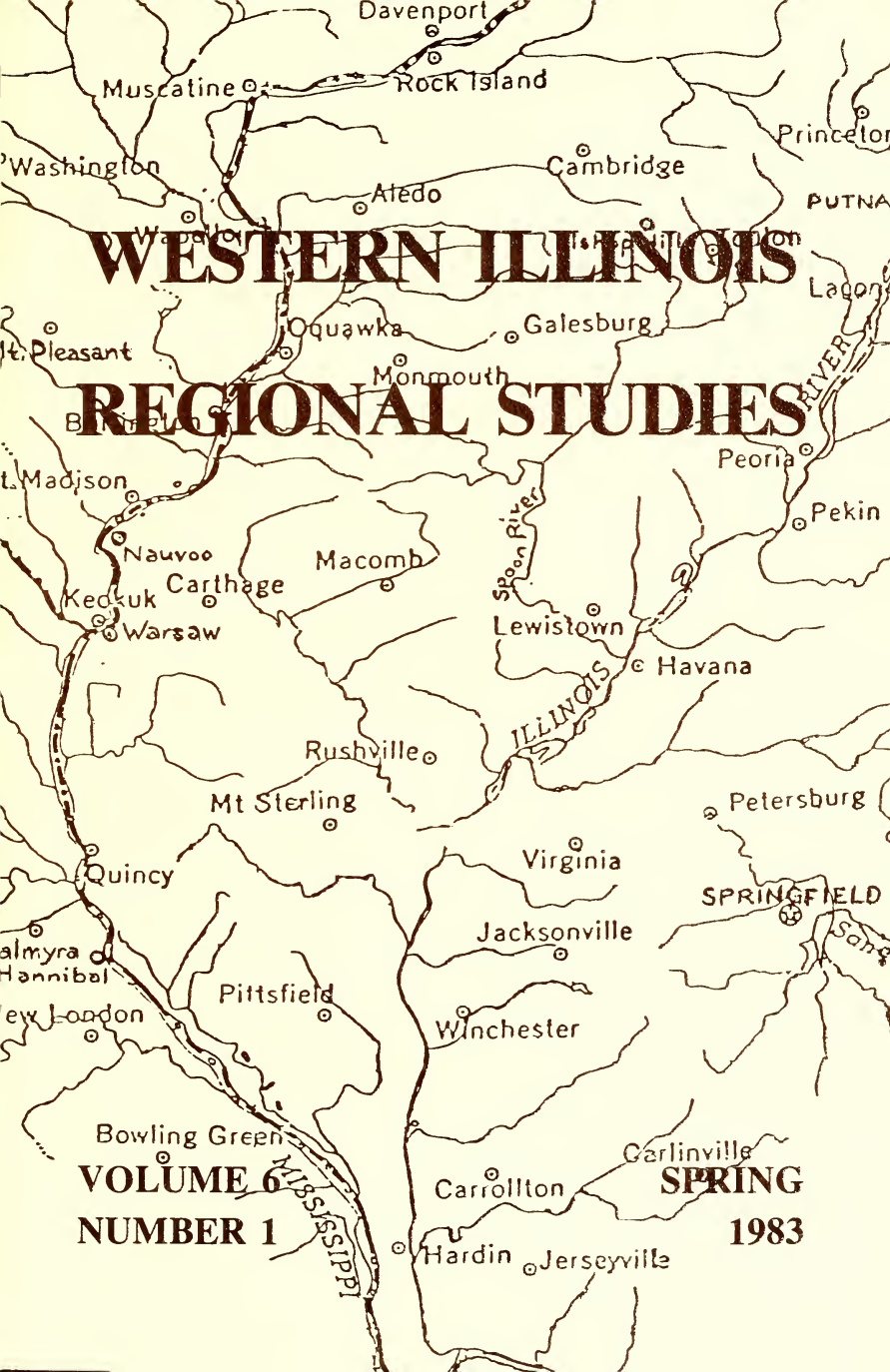

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JOSEPH SMITH III AND THE MORMON SUCCESSION CRISIS, 1844-1846

Roger Launius

On the late afternoon of June 27, 1844, a mob stormed the little jail at Carthage, Illinois, and murdered Joseph Smith, Jr., and his brother, Hyrum. Smith had been a popular, although controversial, religious leader in Illinois during the 1840s. As translator of the *Book of Mormon,* founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and holy prophet of the "Most High God," Smith had won both friends and enemies during his lifetime. On that day, while he was away from most of his friends, his enemies killed him. They believed that his death would end the Mormon religion, but instead it made him a martyr to the cause and inspired his followers to even greater conviction.[1]

When Smith's followers at the Mormon stronghold of Nauvoo heard about the death of their leader, they began to ask questions about the future of their church. The most important concern for those Saints was who would be his successor as president of the movement. Intertwined with that question was another: what would be the policies of the church under the new leader? The answers were varied. Some followers apparently circulated the belief that the Prophet would arise, Christlike, on the third day after his murder, descend from heaven, "attended by a celestial army, coursing the air on a great horse," and lead the sect himself.[2]

Eschewing such a rapturous vision, however, the vast majority of the membership recognized the necessity of choosing another leader. They wanted someone who was capable, whom they could trust, and whom Joseph Smith would have approved of as his successor. Unfortunately, a number of candidates were available, for Smith had not established a firm policy regarding presidential succession in the event of his death. Church doctrine, Smith's public and private statements, official church correspondence and records,

and common sense provided at least eight different methodologies for succession, each pointing to a different successor and each equally valid.[3]

One of the means of succession developed by Smith, and eventually adopted by the second most important sect claiming the legacy of the Mormon Prophet, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, called for the ordination of his oldest son, Joseph Smith III, to the presidency. There is good indication that Smith wanted his oldest son to succeed him, for the young boy's future as a leader of the church was supposedly hinted at as early as 1836, when he was only three. At that time his grandfather had pronounced a special prayer over him, reminiscent of that given by Jacob to his youngest son, Joseph, in the Old Testament. In the blessing Joseph's grandfather said, "you shall have power to carry out all that your Father shall leave undone when you become of age."[4] In 1838, when five-year-old Joseph visited his father, who had been incarcerated in the jail at Liberty, Missouri, the Prophet had supposedly placed his hands on his head and said, "You are my successor when I depart."[5]

Thereafter, Smith had supposedly made several statements indicating that he wished his son to succeed him. In 1841 the prophet revealed that the Lord had told him: "In thee, and in thy seed, shall the kindreds of the earth be blessed."[6] Other hints were apparently dropped that young Smith was to be his father's successor in conversations with the Mormon leader.[7] This conception became relatively well known throughout the Mormon community and was apparently common knowledge to non-Mormons around Nauvoo. A history of Illinois, published in New York in early 1844 and written in 1843 or earlier, reflected this widespread idea about succession. The author announced that the Mormon "Prophet, it is said, has left a will or revelation, appointing a successor; and, among other things, it is stated that his son, a lad of twelve years, is named as his successor."[8]

In the spring of 1981 a collector of Mormon manuscripts, Mark W. Hofman, discovered a remarkable document signed by Smith, containing the text of a long, fatherly blessing of Joseph III. It was dated January 17, 1844, just a few months before the Prophet's death, and provided substantial documentation for the succession of the younger Smith to the prophetic office. It read:

> Blessed of the Lord is my son Joseph, who is called the third, — for the Lord knows the integrity of his heart, and loved him, because of this faith, and righteous desires. And, for this cause, has the Lord raised him up; — that the promises made to the fathers might be fulfilled, even that the anointing of the progenitor shall

Joseph Smith III as a youth in 1846. Courtesy of Reorganized Church Library Archives.

> be upon the head of the son, and his seed after him, for generation to generation. For he shall be my successor to the Presidency of the High Priesthood: a Seer, and a Revelator, and a Prophet, unto the church; which appointment belongeth to him by blessing, and also by right.
>
> Verily, thus saith the Lord; if he abides in me his days shall be lengthened upon the earth, but, if he abides not in me, I, the Lord, will receive him in an instant, unto myself.
>
> When he is grown, he shall be a strength to his brethren, and a comfort to his mother. Angels shall minister to him, and he shall be wafted as on eagle's wings, and be as wise as serpents, even a multiplicity of blessings shall be his. Amen.[9]

In spite of the evidence indicating that the Prophet wished his son to succeed him, when Smith died suddenly in June of 1844, Joseph Smith III did not assume leadership of the Mormon movement. For a time the church seemed to be in chaos, with neither prophet nor direction, and numerous claimants arose advancing doctrinal, procedural, and rational arguments in support of their own succession. While most of the Saints in Nauvoo, and a significant minority of the membership scattered outside that area, eventually accepted the leadership of Brigham Young, there was no real consensus about the presidency, and several Mormon factions arose, each with different leaders professing that they alone had the right to succeed the Prophet. Most of those groups were shortlived, and all but a few were weak from the very beginning. Some, however, have maintained a membership down to the present. The succession crisis of 1844-1846 had a tremendous impact on the Smith family and on Joseph Smith III in particular. It helped significantly in shaping the response the younger Smith made to his father's religion and in his decision to become the President of the Reorganized Church in 1860.

Two central factors seem to have played a large role in producing the succession struggle. The first was the general ambiguity of the church's law regarding succession. In spite of the evidence for lineal succession already discussed, several means existed that could justifiably serve as routes to the ordination of a new president. As in all ecclesiastical matters, those various methods of succession had to be defined and interpreted by church officials, but the supreme interpreter was dead and no one could readily take his place. The second factor was that young Smith was not yet twelve years old in 1844, and the church could not accept such a young boy for the church's president. Many reasoned, probably correctly, that the movement needed strong, able leadership rather than what would be at best a weak regency.

Brigham Young, the man who assumed the leadership of the majority of the Mormon movement, provided the organization with just such a strong and able government. He proposed that the church accept a "caretaker" administration that would oversee the pro-

cedural and governmental concerns of the movement. Young did not claim to be Joseph Smith, Jr.'s successor, and this may have been a deciding factor in his acceptance by the Saints in Nauvoo during a special conference held there on August 8, 1844. Young was a remarkable man. Solidly built, with a broad face and long brown hair, he had a powerful magnetism that exerted pressure on almost everybody he met. Able, ambitious, and sometimes arrogant, Young was capable as any man in the church. As such he could be an opponent of tremendous resourcefulness.[10]

Immediately after learning of the prophet's death, Young returned to Nauvoo to prepare for the future, arriving there on August 6 just before the beginning of the special church conference. When the conference met, Young was present to guide the church along the path that he believed most practical. His motives were, apparently, pure in this regard. He revealed his thoughts in his diary:

> this day is long to be remembered by me, it is the first time I have met with the Church at Nauvoo since Bro Joseph and Hyrum was kild — and the occasion on which the Church was caule was somewhat painful to me, . . . now Joseph is gon it seed [seemed] as though manny wanted to draw off a party and be leaders, but this cannot be, the church must be one or they are not the Lords.[11]

In order to avoid the splintering process that Young was so worried about, he advocated that he, as head of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, should take charge of the affairs of the church for the present.[12]

The Apostle made an impressive speech about the nature of the church and about the desires of some to split it asunder. When he had finished, he put the question of leadership over the church to the body assembled. He asked, simply, if the church would support the Twelve in their calling, "and the vote was unanimous, no hand being raised in the negative."[13]

It was natural that the Nauvoo Saints, in view of the problems associated with the succession, should support the Twelve in the crisis. First, it had long been a routine practice at every conference to sustain the various church officials in their posts. The vote asked for by Young called for nothing more than this. Second, many of the individuals who wished to ascend to the presidency were distrusted by the church members for various reasons. Third, over 4,000 members of the Nauvoo church population were immigrants from Great Britain. The British mission had been under the direction of the Twelve since its inception in 1837, and at one time or another virtually all of the Apostles had served there. Many of those immigrants had been converted to Mormonism by a member of the Twelve, and they certainly trusted the Quorum. It was natural that the

Brigham Young during the 1840's. Courtesy of Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

English converts in Nauvoo would support men that they knew and trusted. That block of votes, moreover, was probably large enough to insure the Twelve's victory.[14]

Young, although not technically president of the church after this meeting, did not wait long before exercising the authority granted him by the conference. On the day after the meeting he — acting as head of the Apostles — issued a series of executive orders firmly placing the administrative machinery of the church in his hands.[15] He managed Nauvoo and church business very skillfully, and most Nauvoo residents were pleased with how he handled the situation. Affairs seemed to be returning to normal, and "normalcy" was a welcome change from the confusion of the summer. There was, however, the very large gap of prophetic leadership that Young did not try to fill. Young did not even address the question of succession in the presidency at that time. He was content to manage a caretaker government and to let the question of future prophetic guidance rest for the time being.[16]

It may well have been that Brigham Young would have given up his control over the church after the crisis in favor of Joseph Smith III. Young acted very coyly regarding the promises and blessings that had been made to young Smith by his father. Although he never clearly stated his policy regarding young Joseph's future presidency, his actions in Nauvoo immediately after the prophet's death suggest that he intended to step down when the lad came of age and asserted his claim to the presidency.[17] When visited by Lucy Mack Smith, the boy's grandmother, in early 1845, for instance, Brigham Young indicated that he had no designs on the prophetic office. He claimed that the church was in a time of crisis, and that enemies wanted to kill the prophet's successor. He explained that his goals were to maintain the movement's unity and to shield the successor until the troubles had been solved. "If it is known that he is the rightful successor of his father, the enemy of the Priesthood will seek his life," Young told the old woman. Pragmatically, he added, "he is too young to lead this people now, but when he arrives at a mature age he shall have his place. No one shall rob him of it."[18]

There is ample reason to believe that Brigham Young would have honored his statement to Lucy Mack Smith during the coming years, had it not been for a number of circumstances that developed in Nauvoo between Young and the Smith family. Each of those episodes brought out distrust and dislike in the two principal actors, Emma Smith and Brigham Young, but more importantly, young Joseph III's behavior was affected by the conflicts.

The most important difficulty between Emma Smith and Brigham Young arose over the open and widespread practice of plural marriage in the city during 1845 and 1846, and the linking of its begin-

nings to Joseph Smith, Jr. It was undoubtedly the most important factor affecting Emma Smith's ill-will toward the church and Brigham Young, and it led to her conviction that the head of the Twelve was leading the movement into total apostacy. She believed the doctrine an evil concept, and refused to accept any connection of the practice with either the Smith family or her dead husband. As far as she was concerned, it was based solely upon the lust of Young and his retainers, and she taught her children that their father had never promulgated such a concept.[19]

Young claimed, on the other hand, that Joseph Smith, Jr. had begun teaching the doctrine as early as 1831, and had become its foremost practitioner.[20] The Prophet had tried to make his wife understand the religious significance of the doctrine, Young asserted, but she was naturally resistant. She had periods when she would violently oppose the practice, and just as quickly turn about and accept it, even standing as a witness in some of her husband's polygamous wedding ceremonies.[21] Whatever the truth, Emma adamantly denied her husband's involvement in polygamy, and proved a very difficult opponent of Young's attempts to expand the practice between 1844 and 1846.[22]

Emma Smith found herself involved in the controversy of plural marriage in more ways than just as a wife who denied her late husband's participation in it. Brigham Young, who championed the doctrine, had taken it upon himself to marry over twenty Nauvoo women between the prophet's martyrdom and early 1846. Several of them had supposedly been plural wives of Joseph Smith.[23] As he consolidated his control over the Mormon kingdom, Young seemed to set his romantic sights on Emma Smith as well, offering her something akin to queenly status in the church if she would become his plural wife. She refused to have anything to do with Young, however, and a very antagonistic relationship between the two developed rapidly. Her refusal to marry him was a real blow to his ego, for which he never forgave her, and he took every opportunity to attack her character thereafter. On one occasion Young remarked to his followers, "Joseph used to say that he would have her in the hereafter, if he had to go to hell for her, and he will have to go to hell for her as sure as he ever got her."[24]

After Emma Smith spurned Brigham Young, difficulties between the Smith family and the church administration seemed to increase in both number and severity. The problem affected young Joseph Smith greatly, and caused him to develop a very uncomplimentary view of Young. In writing of this period in his memoirs many years later, Joseph III labelled the section "Oppression." He claimed that in 1844 and 1845 Brigham Young became a ruthless man who "had assumed control of church affairs, and seemed inclined to dominate

and make everything and everybody bend to his will." He added, "this did not suit my mother; and besides she could not fellowship [sic] some other things that were occurring." As a result a contest developed between Emma Smith and Brigham Young, each seeking to gain the advantage over the other. The two jousted over seemingly little things, each doling out to the other what young Joseph called a "good many petty annoyances and also some things that were much more serious."[25] Brigham Young, however, dealing from his position of authority, gave much the worse to the Smith family.

One conflict between the two, in addition to the plural marriage controversy, was the settlement of Joseph Smith, Jr.'s estate. Smith had died intestate, presenting the Hancock County, Illinois Probate Court with a complex legal problem. His personal property was inextricably tied up with the property of the church, and Young thought that church officials should, therefore, handle the estate. Emma, on the other hand, was concerned about providing for her five children, and did not want to lose control of any property for an instant, especially since the church made no promises about providing for the family's welfare. She, therefore, treated all of it as her husband's personal property. Three weeks after the prophet's murder, Emma went to Carthage and obtained appointment as administrator of Joseph's estate and legal guardian of their children.[26] It infuriated Young, in spite of the fact that it occurred before the August 8 conference, that Emma had gone ahead without his approval, and especially that she intended to handle the estate herself. He did all in his power to have the order rescinded, but failed to do so during the summer of 1844.

He finally succeeded on September 19, 1844, when the presiding judge appointed a prominent Mormon, Joseph W. Coolidge, as administrator of the Prophet's estate.[27] Emma protested, but there was little she could do, for she had failed to raise a bond demanded by the court, and Young persuaded the judge to appoint Coolidge in her place.[28] Coolidge served as administrator for four years, obtaining few assets for the family while selling off approximately $1,000 worth of Smith property to pay the funeral expense and administrative costs.[29] Young Smith bitterly remembered that Coolidge's administration had been particularly cruel for the family. He allowed them, for instance, to retain only their household goods, two horses, two cows, Emma's spinning wheels, and $124 per year in income from rental property.

Joseph III believed that Young forced Coolidge to impose this exceptionally harsh settlement in order to make Emma accept his authority. He soon "formed the impression that while Joseph Coolidge was, under ordinary circumstances, an honest man, in this matter he was under the domination of others." He concluded: "Our

Emma Smith, from a portrait c. 1842. Original in The Auditorium, Reorganized Church headquarters.

family was subject gradually to a series of injustices at his hands and disagreeable experiences which became almost un-bearable. Whether or not Coolidge lent himself willingly to the efforts made by others to distress and annoy mother and her family, I do not know, but conditions, as they developed, seem to warrent that conclusion."[30] To make the whole unseemly affair worse, Coolidge was a very poor administrator who left the state without completing the duties assigned him by the court, taking with him some of the estate's money.[31] Had not Joseph and Emma Smith deeded various pieces of Nauvoo property to their minor children during bankruptcy proceedings in 1842, the Smiths would have ended up with much less than they actually received after the Coolidge administration.[32]

As part of the controversy over the estate, Emma Smith angered Brigham Young over the matter of the control of her husband's papers. Smith had a large collection of papers at the time of his death, but they were scattered about Nauvoo in various offices and church officials' homes. Emma had gathered up some of them before Young returned to Nauvoo. After his arrival in August, he learned of her actions and wanted the papers back, claiming they were church property. When Young's men came to her home to ask for them, she told them she would never give them up. Young was not too concerned about most of the papers which Emma had, since the items of greatest importance for the church — the bulk of his official correspondence, his autobiography, the official record and minute books, and ledgers of church business transactions — were still in the hands of church members loyal to Young. The document that Young particularly wanted to obtain, however, was a manuscript of the *Bible*, known to the Saints as the "New Translation," which was an "inspired revision" of the King James version that had been prepared by Joseph Smith and his scribes.[33] Emma refused to let the church take the manuscript because, as she later explained to her son, "she felt the grave responsibility of safely keeping it until such time as the Lord would permit or direct its publication."[34]

To assure the "New Translation's" safety, Emma hid it in a trunk for which she had a false bottom built.[35] Only one person outside the Smith family was allowed to see that document between 1844 and 1846, for fear that Young would somehow confiscate the manuscript. Emma did permit John M. Bernhisel, her good friend for many years, to borrow and copy the manuscript, but even with him she was cautious.[36] She distrusted Brigham Young so greatly that she always maintained her guard. She made a telling indictment of Young and his lieutenants concerning this incident in 1867. "It is true that every L.D.S. cannot be trusted to copy them [the papers of the manuscript], and I did not trust many of them with the reading of them," she wrote to her son, "and I am of the opinion that if I had

trusted all that wished that privilege you would not have them in your possession now."[37]

According to Joseph III, after this incident the conflicts between Young and his mother increased dramatically. He wrote that Young had men watch the Smith home and spy on their activities. There is evidence to indicate that Young may have been merely providing for the family's protection, but if so, the Smiths did not think it was warranted. Joseph III later wrote, "in 1845 and 1846 no person was allowed to come to the house without passing a cordon of police."[38] The guards reported to Young all comings and goings in the neighborhood and took the opportunity to observe the Smith's visitors' subsequent movements in the city. Smith believed the guarding of the home amounted to nothing less than house arrest for the family.

That Young did not intend the sentry organization as purely protective was demonstrated in an incident involving young Joseph Smith and Porter Rockwell. Rockwell, the rough, loyal follower of the Prophet, had been a longtime friend of the Smith family. After the Prophet's death he had been torn by the loyalty he felt for the Smiths and the inclination to cast his lot with Brigham Young and Twelve. Young soon won Rockwell's allegiance, and he became a vocal advocate for the prerogatives of the Apostles. Even so, Rockwell was not exempt from surveillance by guards when he tried to maintain his relationship with the Smith family. Young Joseph reported that one day he saw this old friend walking down the street. He ran out of the house, jumped his picket fence, and bounded down the road to talk to Rockwell. They spoke for a couple of moments, but Rockwell seemed somewhat distant, and all too quickly he pushed Joseph away. As he did so, he tenderly told him: "You had best go back. I am glad you came to meet me, but it is best that you are not seen with me. It can do me no good and it may bring harm to you." That fleeting moment always remained with Smith. It influenced him the rest of his life, leading him to reject what he called the "Mormon Tyranny" of Brigham Young. "I climbed back over the fence, to wonder, in my boyish way," he recalled, "how it was possible for men to be so wicked and cruel to good men."[39]

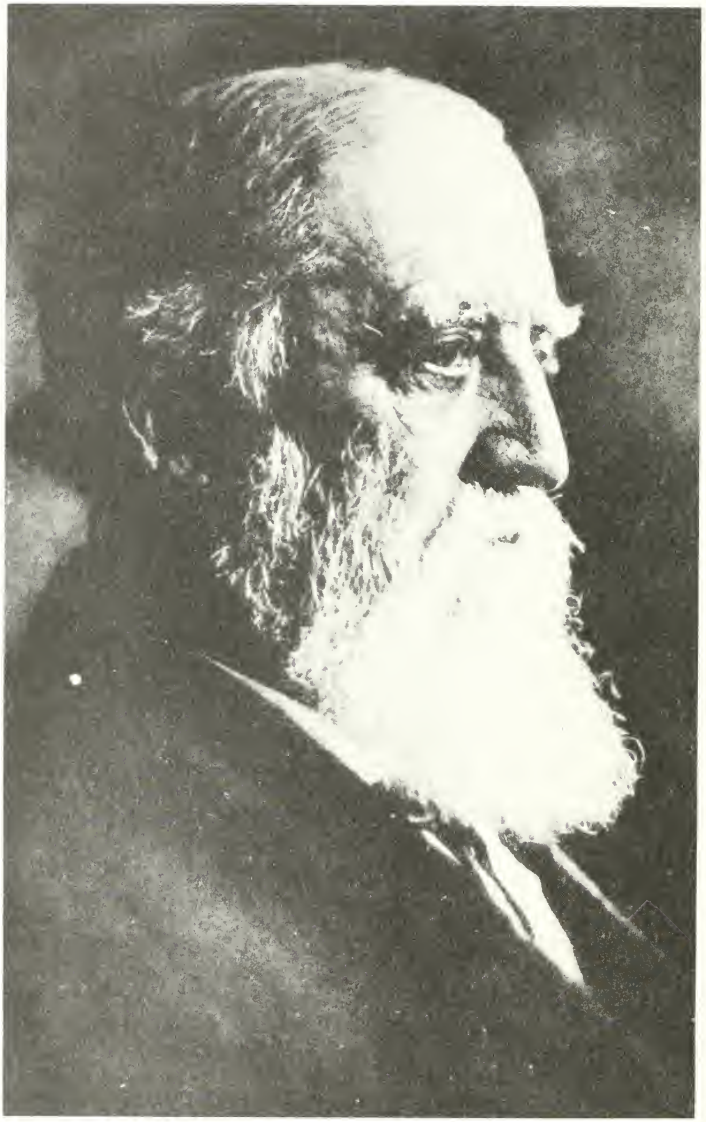
All of the controversies surrounding the succession steeled the Smith family to greater opposition of Young and his organization. The Smiths saw Young's hand in several other incidents as well. Joseph Smith III remembered that several of the family's friends began to be attacked by ruffians when they attempted to visit their Nauvoo home in spite of the fact that Young had stationed "guards" to handle just such a problem. The Smiths concluded that the attackers were sanctioned by church officials. Otherwise, would not the "guards" have intervened? One such visitor to the Smith home was assaulted near the house by a thug armed with a bowie knife.

He fought the attacker off with a huge, heavy ebony cane.[40]

Others were neither so well armed nor so physically able to defend themselves. Austin Cowles, a former member of the Nauvoo High Council, a high-ranking religious body, visited the city in 1845 only to be roughly treated by men stationed near the Smith home. According to young Joseph, youths known as the Nauvoo "Whistling and Whittling Brigade" had been organized to intimidate strangers into making a hasty departure from town. These youths now followed Cowles about "urging him with wicked knives, saying nothing to him, except to tell him to move on when he stopped to speak to anyone." Smith wrote that he tried to speak to him, but "the escort struck up their din of whistling and whittling, hustling the poor men with the ends of broken boards and the sticks they were whittling."[41]

By the summer of 1845 Brigham Young, while in control of the church bureaucracy at Nauvoo and firmly administering the programs of the movement, still had not gained the allegiance of the Smith family. Almost every day he and Emma Smith had some sort of disagreement. The breach between the family and the Young-controlled sect widened. It was most exasperating for Young to have such a powerful holdout to his authority. It was a figurative slap in the face that the Prophet's widow would not accept his rule. Emma Smith of all people, he reasoned, should have remained true to the Mormon faith, yet she rejected the church as it existed under Young.

Apparently, during the summer of 1845 some of Young's followers decided to rid Nauvoo of the Smith family. They sent Emma an ultimatum demanding that she pack up and leave town within three days or her house "would be burned over her head." Emma flatly refused to be intimidated and went about her business as if nothing had happened. On the third day after the threat, however, she took precautions. Emma prepared pallets on the floor near the door so that her children could easily escape should fire break out, but she slept in her second story bedroom in a forthright defiance of the threat. The children, aware of the threat, were a bit fearful, but said their prayers and lay down to sleep. Joseph later remembered the event: "We lay down in the quietness and finally went to sleep. In the morning the house was found to be still over our heads and intact, but on the north side were discovered the remains of some fire material piled against the wall. A fire had been started and a portion of the siding was scorched, but it had not caught sufficiently to set the house on fire; hence we escaped."[42] Joseph thought at the time that the family had been very lucky. Emma, however, had been reasonably sure that the house would not burn. Years later she explained why. "I have often thought," she wrote to Joseph Smith III in 1867, "the reason that our house did not burn down when it was so often on fire was because of them [the manuscript papers of the



Joseph Smith III c. 1910. Courtesy of Reorganized Church Library Archives.

"New Translation" of the *Bible* hidden in the house], and I still feel there is a sacredness attached to them."[43]

The battle waged between Emma Smith and Brigham Young between 1844 and 1846 affected Joseph Smith III deeply. He had an interest in its outcome, and naturally sided with his mother at every point. As a result, he developed an abiding hatred of all that Young stood for. He distrusted the man, and believed that he had duped the thousands of Latter Day Saints who had followed him to the Great Basin. Young Smith recognized that he could not have led the church in 1844. He was too young. But he believed that Young, who may have acted rightly at first, went far beyond his initial grant of authority in charting the course of the church along lines that the Smith family disapproved. Joseph adopted his mother's view of plural marriage, fighting his entire life to prove, although without much success, that his father had never been involved in the practice. He repeatedly announced, as he did in a letter in 1895, that "Father had *no wife* but my mother, Emma Hale, to the knowledge of either my mother or myself, and I was twelve years old, nearly, when he was killed."[44] Brigham Young, therefore, was the great villain, according to Smith. He had instituted polygamy, and had tried to place the burden of its origination on the Prophet. As a result, Joseph could never take part in such a Mormon movement as Young led. He could not accept that variety of Mormonism, and consequently forsook his call as the successor, eventually accepting leadership of a Mormon group better suited to his peculiar religious conceptions.

Examples of how the stress of his family's life in Nauvoo affected young Joseph are shown in two documents which he wrote in January and February of 1845. The first, entitled "Rules of Behavior for Youth," contained not only the standard etiquette of the day, but also other rules which seem to reflect his unhappy Nauvoo experience:

> Speak not when you should hold your piece. Many questions, remarks and sarcasms may be better answered by silence than by words — by silent contempt. Turn not your back to others. . . . Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though it be your enemy. . . . Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any one. Associate with men of Good character and remember it is better to be alone than in bad company.

The most important rule that impressed young Joseph at that time, and which he tried to observe throughout the rest of his life, may also have been prompted by the difficulties between his family and the church hierarchy: "Never attempt anything but what you can do openly, free from fear of consequences."[45]

The second document was an account of "A Thrilling Dream." In that dream the adolescent Smith, armed with pistols and a saber, was engaged in admiring a magnificent garden. While captivated by the garden's size and beauty, he heard a scream and rushed toward the sound, finding a "savage monster" assaulting a beautiful lady. She was clad in a white, flowing robe, and was obviously very pure. Smith defended her, and, drawing his saber, "laid him dead with a single blow." Other enemies soon appeared to attack the lady, but Smith fought them off. He was in the midst of one last, desperate struggle with a particularly powerful enemy when he suddenly awoke in a terrified state. Although one can only surmise what prompted this dream, Smith's subconscious was obviously reacting to the harsh realities of life in Nauvoo. It is tempting to conclude that he was defending his mother against her enemies, the last of whom was particularly powerful and resourceful, as he had been unable to do in reality.[46]

With all of the conflicts of the period between 1844 and 1846, young Joseph Smith III could never have gone any direction other than away from the Brigham Young-controlled, Utah-based Mormon movement. As a result of the seeds that were planted in Nauvoo — the seeds of disgust for plural marriage, autocracy, and ruthlessness as well as those favoring moderate Mormon beliefs like those held by his mother — Joseph Smith III came to accept leadership in the Reorganized Church in 1860. That movement epitomized the pro-Smith side of the struggle that took place in Nauvoo in its doctrine, policy, organization, and leadership. For the future development of the Missouri branch of Mormonism, then, and especially for the role to be played by Joseph Smith III, 1844 to 1846 were the formative years, the years in which crucial decisions and lifelong commitments were made.

NOTES

[1]The literature of the martyrdom is extensive. See the official account in *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1970), Section 113; as well as William M. Daniels, "Narrative," *Journal of History,* 11 (October, 1919), 405-07, and Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trail of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 6-29.

[2]Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois from Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1848* (Chicago: C.S. Griggs and Co., 1854), p. 357.

[3]See the astute study of D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 16 (Winter, 1976), 187-233.

[4]Joseph Smith, Sr., Blessing of Joseph Smith III, remembered by Lucy Mack Smith, Summer, 1845 (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah); *Saints' Herald*, 51 (8 June 1904), 526, 56 (29 July 1909), 702.

[5]Joseph Smith III, "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832-1914)," *ibid.*, 81 (6 November 1934), 1414; Joseph Smith III, "Pleasant Chat," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald*, 14 (October, 1868), 105; Lyman Wight to Editor, *Northern Islander*, July, 1855, Lyman Wight Letterbook (Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri).

[6]*Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 107, item 18c.

[7]D. Michael Quinn, "Organizational Development and Social Origins of the Mormon Hierarchy, 1832-1932," M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1973, pp. 125-45.

[8]Henry Brown, *History of Illinois* (New York: J. Winchester, 1844), p. 489.

[9]Joseph Smith, Jr., Blessing of Joseph Smith III, 17 January 1844 (Reorganized Church Library-Archives). This document was discovered in March 1981, and received a great deal of media exposure. See "A Mormon Revelation," *Newsweek*, 30 March 1981, p. 76. The events of the blessing have been recounted in James Whitehead, "Testimony," in *Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence in the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division, at Kansas City, Missouri* (Lamoni, Iowa; Herald Publishing House, 1893), pp. 27-28.

[10]James Monroe, Dairy, 24 April 1845, Mormon Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut); Stanley P. Hirshson, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 35-37; T. Edger Lyon, "Nauvoo and the Council of Twelve," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays and Mormon History* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 171-75.

[11]Brigham Young, Journal, 8 August 1844 (L.D.S. Historical Department).

[12]*New York Herald*, 18 May 1877; Hirshson, *Lion of the Lord*, pp. 81, 105, 323; Samuel W. Taylor, *The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 134-36.

[13]Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, Diary, 8 August 1844 (L.D.S. Historical Department); *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois), 2 September 1844.

[14]Russell F. Ralston, *Succession in Presidency and Authority* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1959), p. 15; Aleah G. Koury, *The Truth and the Evidence* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1965), pp. 83-84; P.A.M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press. 1966), pp. 144-45.

[15]Joseph Smith, Jr., *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B.H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1976), VII, 247-52; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 320.

[16]Heber C. Kimball to William B. Smith, 9 January 1845, William Smith Collection (L.D.S. Historical Department); Russell B. Rich, *Those Who Would Be Leaders (Offshoots of Mormonism)* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univ. Press, 1967), *passim*.

[17]"An Epistle of the Twelve," *Times and Seasons*, 15 August 1844; *Journal of Discourses* (Salt Lake City, Utah), VIII, 69; *Complainant's Abstract*, p. 323; *Latter Day Saints' Millennial Star* (Liverpool, England), vol. 16, p. 442; Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (Plano, Illinois: Herald Publishing House, 1880), pp. 614-15.

[18]John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled: Including the Remarkable Life and Confession of the Late Mormon Bishop* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand, and Co., 1877), p. 161.

[19]Smith, "Memoirs," in *Herald*, 82 (2 April 1935), 432.

[20]*Journal of Discourses*, III, 266; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 335-62; Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 267-77; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: ALfred A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 185-205.

[21]Andrew Jensen, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record*, 6 (July, 1887), 205-36; *Journal of Discourses*, XVII, 159.

[22]Joseph Smith III, "The Last Testimony of Sister Emma," *Saints' Herald*, 26 (1 October 1879), 289-90.

[23]Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall, 1877), pp. 418-22; *New York Tribune*, 16 December 1871; *New York World*, 17 November 1869; Hirshson, *Lion of the Lord*, pp. 65-66; William Hall, *The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed, Containing Many Facts and Doctrines Concerning That Singular People during Seven Years Membership with Them; from 1840 to 1847* (Cincinnati: I. Hart, 1852), pp. 43-44.

[24]*New York World*, 2 October 1870; *Journal of Discourses*, XVII, 159; *Springfield* (Illinois) *Weekly Republican*, 1 December 1866.

[25]Smith, "Memoirs," in *Herald*, 82 (29 January 1935), 144.

[26]Probate Records, Book A (1840-1846), pp. 341-42 (Hancock County Courthouse, Carthage, Illinois); State of Illinois, Hancock County to Emma Smith, 17 July 1844, Lewis Crum Bidamon Papers (Reorganized Church Library-Archives).

[27]Probate Records, Book A (1840-1846), pp. 354-55; Probate Records, Book C (1844-1849), 28, 43 (Hancock County Courthouse, Carthage, Illinois).

[28]Smith, "Memoirs," in *Herald*, 82 (29 January 1935), 144.

[29]Chancery Records, Book A, p. 490 (Hancock County Courthouse, Carthage, Illinois).

[30]Smith, "Memoirs," in *Herald*, 82 (29 January 1935), 144.

[31]Probate Records, Book A (1840-1846), pp. 412, 421; Probate Records, Book E (1842-1949), 191, 212; Claims Records, Book C, p. 242 (Hancock County Courthouse, Carthage, Illinois).

[32]M. Hamlin Cannon, ed., "Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Joseph Smith in Illinois," *Pacific Historical Review*, 14 (December, 1945), 423-33, and 14 (June, 1946), 214-15.

[33]Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study in their Textual Development* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1969), pp. 70-193, *passim*.

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[35]Interview with Kenneth E. Stobaugh, 14 June 1975, Joseph Smith Historic Center, Nauvoo, Illinois.

[36]L. John Nuttall, Diary, p. 335 (Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah): Robert J. Matthews, "*A Plainer Translation:*" *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible, A History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p. 121.

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[38]Joseph Smith III, "Autobiography of Joseph Smith," in Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet*, pp. 746-48; Flanders, *Nauvoo*, p. 319.

[39]Smith, "Memoirs," in *Herald*, 82 (22 January 1935), 111.

[40]Joseph Smith III, "What Do I Remember of Nauvoo?" *Journal of History*, 3 (July, 1910), 338.

[41]Smith, "Autobiography," in Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet*, p. 749; Thurman Dean Moody, "Nauvoo's Whistling and Whittling Brigade," *Brigham Young University Studies*, (Summer, 1975), 480-90.

[42]Smith, "Memoirs," in *Herald*, 82 (29 January 1935), 144.

[43]Emma Smith Bidamon to Joseph Smith III, 2 December 1867, Joseph Smith III Papers (Reorganized Church Library-Archives).

[44]Joseph Smith III to Caleb Parker, 14 August 1895, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #6 (Reorganized Church Library-Archives).

[45]Joseph Smith III, "Rules of Behavior for Youth," January 1845 (Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University).

[46]Joseph Smith III, "A Thrilling Dream," 14 February 1845, *ibid*.

UTOPIAN FRATERNITY: IDEAL AND REALITY IN ICARIAN RECREATION

Robert P. Sutton

The vision of a new society put forth by Etienne Cabet in his best-selling novel, *Voyage en Icarie*, published anonymously by the author in Paris in 1840, pictured, as he put it in the preface, "a second *Promised Land*, an *Eden*, an *Elysium*, a new *Earthly Paradise*."[1] The immense popularity of the book (it went through five editions in eight years) produced one of Europe's most significant pre-Marxian social reform movements and one of the most fascinating experiments in secular communitarianism in the United States. In fact, the Icarians were the longest-lived non-religious utopian community in America, running almost fifty years from the establishment of the first successful colony at Nauvoo in the winter of 1849 to the breakup of the last Icaria at Corning, Iowa late in 1898.

The book itself is a tale of a young English nobleman, Lord William Carisdall, and his four-month visit to a fantastic island located somewhere east of Africa. In his journal Carisdall recorded his continual astonishment at the marvels he found there, his close friendship with his Icarian guide, Valmore, his love affair with Valmore's sweetheart, Dinaise, his ever-growing admiration for the Icarian history professor, Dinaros, and the professor's story of the founding and functioning of the ideal society.

From the beginning, as the quote from the preface suggests, the Icarians were distinguished by their naive expectation of the facile realization of one central goal — that complete "equality, liberty, and fraternity," in the words of their motto, could be achieved by reorganizing society without private property. That step was, of course, a negative reform. But Cabet also wished to *add to* society some practices which he saw lacking in France in the 1820's and 1830's. The key to understanding this important aspect of Cabet's formula for the ideal community is found in the word *fraternity*. He believed that all members of society must fraternize, a cognate word meaning the same in French and English, namely "to associate or mingle. . . to engage in commradely social intercourse. . . to be friendly or amiable."

Fraternity, as pictured in Cabet's vision of the ideal community, was described in detail in the pages of the *Voyage* and was a marked

Etienne Cabet as a young man. Courtesy of Western Illinois University Library.

contrast to existing conditions in France. Hit by the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, the average laborer toiled daily in the miserable drudgery of the factory, helpless against the cycles of business depressions and the downward spiral of wages. Not so in Icaria. There, Cabet wrote, workers went to clean, sanitary "workshops" where machines "executed all of the perilous, fatiguing, unhealthy, dirty, and disgusting jobs," where "everything converges to render the work agreeable."[2] The workday itself was amazingly brief: seven hours in summer and six in winter. The Icarians, then, were provided with something unknown to the French tradesman, leisure time. And, in Icaria, recreation of all sorts was an integral part of life's routine. They spent their afternoons, evenings, and weekends viewing "spectacles," as Cabet called them, provided by the state in large amphitheaters. They enjoyed dances, picnics, promenades, and horseback riding. They participated in group singing, concerts, and theatrical productions. Later in the century, Cabet's followers would strive to implement his recreational ideals in the Icarian colonies of America.

In *Voyage en Icarie* the many dances took place in elegant public buildings. Lord Carisdall reflected on one such event held after a wedding which he had attended with another visitor, a Frenchman named Eugene. The hall, he noted, "is the most gracious, most elegant, and most magnificent that you can imagine." "The gilding, the mirrors, the tapestries, the candelabra, the lamps, the flowers, the perfumes, everthing made it an enchanting place."[3] Carisdall and Eugene, seated in tiers which surrounded the dance floor, observed the dance commence with the young married couple coming onto the floor "dancing and waltzing all by themselves" unintimidated by the fixed gazes of their elders.[4] Next came the children, dancing all together. Then the young men entered, followed by the young girls. After them came the men and women. Finally, the elderly joined in. "All love to dance," Carisdall wrote in his journal, "and a ball is always organized like a . . . ballet where everyone has a role."[5]

Carisdall went on to describe the Icarian dance more specifically as consisting "principally in figures and evolutions." "The ones of the citizens," he pointed out, "differ essentially from the ones of the dancers in the theaters and the ones of the men are not the same as those of the women."[6] Usually, everything began with a single young man dancing alone for a few minutes. Then he was joined by another, then three danced together. At that point all the young men entered and continued the pattern of dividing into small groups. The dance continued:

> It was the same with the young girls, some of whom accompanied themselves with castinets, and some others with diverse instruments. Several of the elderly, men and women, executed some

> dances of a character which caused a great deal of laughter. They then danced some *waltzes* of different kinds. But the men waltzed with men and the women with women, the married couples alone having the privilege of waltzing with their spouses. I believed at first that they would have few who would waltz but all of the boys waltzed together, all of the young girls likewise, and many husbands with their wives; and that variety produced a charming effect. Finally the dance became general, intermingling all of the ages and all of the sexes, and presented a more animated spectacle.[7]

The same extravagant display was seen in the Icarian theater. The production of plays was a public responsibility and all citizens could see them free, since money was non-existant. That was a prodigious undertaking for a Republic of over 900,000 people. But the Icarians rose to the occasion. They build 15,000 theaters which put on sixty performances simultaneously. The government printed tickets for each family or for individuals living alone and distributed them by chance. "Each family will have its notice like each single individual," Valmore told Lord Carisdall, "and each will know in advance the presentation to attend." "What if that day is inconvenient?" Carisdall asked. Then, said Valmore, "you can consult the printed tableaux of the notices and find a family who wants to exchange its notice against yours." "We take similar measures for all public curiosities," Valmore stated, "for museums and for scientific courses."[8]

In the capital of the utopia, a city named Icara, there was also a kind of outdoor theater. The family which had a strong love of shows could, Valmore said, "enjoy what they pleased almost everyday, for one finds them even in open air and in all of the promenades." "You certainly never have seen anywhere," he gloated, "as many marionette theaters, shadow theaters, and especially Punch and Judy shows, which are the delight of the children." "Nowhere," he concluded, "have you seen any as attractive, because here it is the Republic which makes them happen, without sparing any expense in order to render them charming by all accounts."[9]

The theaters themselves were splendid structures. "What an immense hall!" Eugene exclaimed upon entering one of them. "In no country have I ever seen anything so grand!"[10] Icarian architects, prior to designing the buildings, carefully studied plans of all the theaters of the world and chose an amphitheater layout. Acoustically, it was perfect. "One does not miss a word," an Icarian told Eugene, "because it is the foremost requirement of a hall of shows to transmit its sounds well, and it is the first thing that is proposed by our builders."[11] Theater boxes were discarded as a sign of aristocracy and privilege as well as for safety. "They are a fire hazard and all of them are built to invite a fire," Eugene observed. "This mixture of population," he concluded, "these beautiful costumes, these decora-

tions, everything is magnificent. The Opera of London or Paris is not more beautiful."[12] Yet there was a serious purpose to all this display. Cabet asserted that the theater was to be "a school where the teachers are the fine arts charged with combining their prestige in order to educate while entertaining." That is, the theater inculcated morality and patriotism.

Such democratic rectitude was applied not just to dancing and the theater but to all Icarian recreation. All enjoyments, Cabet wrote, must "have a moral and practical objective and that objective always is to be not the personal pleasure and the servile flattery of a King but the interest, the glory and the happiness of the People."[13] The Icarians liked pleasure and delighted in the "faculties of the senses," as Cabet called them, so long as they enjoyed that which was good and rejected that which was bad. Three simple rules provided the guidelines for this moral selection. The first one was that all enjoyments had to be authorized by the People by law. The second rule held that "the agreeable would be sought only after one has the *necessary* and the *useful*."[14] The third maxim was that one "not allow any other pleasures than those which each Icarian is able to enjoy equally."[15]

Every Icarian citizen was encouraged to develop new leisure pastimes for the Republic and was accordingly rewarded for his or her efforts. "Like the king of Persia who promised a reward to anyone who invented a new pleasure," Valmore said, "we invite all of our citizens to perfect or to add to our enjoyments."[16] Cabet strongly contrasted the Icarian practices with that found in Europe. Monarchies demanded new amusements only for themselves whereas Icaria encouraged new pleasures only for the People. The English aristocracy, for example, "monopolizes everything for itself, forbidding all Sunday amusements, making them accessible only to the idle and to the rich during the week, and only allowing to the English People no distractions other than getting themselves drunk in their *public houses* in order to forget their frightful misery."[17] The Icarian, on the other hand, "cherished by the Republic like a child by its mother, enjoys every day all the pleasures, happier than all the People of the earth and than all of the Aristocracies of the world." At that point Eugene sighed, "Ah! Yes, happy Icaria!"[18]

The spectacular and patriotic quality of Icarian dancing and theater reached its epitome in their "festivals" and "spectacles," which like the other amusements were organized and staged by the Republic and were free to all citizens. One such event was the Icarian Independence Day celebration. The event commemorated the overthrow on July 14, 1782 of the ancient tyrant Lixdox and his evil queen Clorimide by the "good Icar" and the subsequent creation of the Community in the place of despotism. Perhaps nowhere else in the

Frontispiece of volume two of the first edition of Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie*, depicting the fictitious Lord William Carisdall.

VOYAGE

ET

AVENTURES

DE

LORD VILLIAM CARISDALL

EN ICARIE,

TRADUITS DE L'ANGLAIS

DE FRANCIS ADAMS

PAR TH. DUFRUIT,

MAITRE DE PENSION.

II

Paris,

HIPPOLYTE SOUVERAIN, ÉDITEUR,

De *F. SOULIE, H. DE BALZAC, ALPHONSE BROT, JULES LECOMTE*, etc.

RUE DES BEAUX-ARTS, 5, A L'E TRESOL.

1840.

Title page of the first edition of Cabet's *Voyage*.

Voyage en Icarie is Cabet's writing so effective than in his lyrical portrayal of the mood and physical setting of the occasion. The festival took place in a huge amphitheater where Icarian actors began by recreating the bloody two-day battle which had led to victory. Then there was a gigantic parade of the National Guard followed by military maneuvers, during which the Guard executed "a thousand different evolutions of infantry and of calvary." Then the National Congress left the stands and filed out "in a hundred groups of twenty Deputies, carrying a hundred provincial and a thousand communal flags . . . the spectators . . . all standing and hats off, raise their arms together." "Behold," Carisdall exclaimed, "20,000 children, from six to ten years of age, who descend from their benches into the arena . . . and form the foremost inner circle." Cabet then wrote:

> Thirty thousand girls and 30,000 boys, from ten to twenty one years of age, likewise descend and form two other circles, some of them carrying flowers and wreaths, others scarfs and garlands, some others boughs and flags. Then begins the *ballet*, the dances, the rounds among 80,000 dancers, who form a thousand evolutions and toss flowers and wreaths towards Icar and Icaria, while waving their boughs and their scarfs, their garlands and their flags.
>
> Here now is the song. The 20,000 children, then the 30,000 young girls, then the 30,000 boys, then more than a million voices, repeating the hymns of recognition of the Community.
>
> Here now is the *concert*. The bell and its carillon, then the cannon above all of the palaces of the city, then 500 or 600 drums, then 500 or 600 trumpets, then the sixty bands dispersed over the benches, then all of the bands and nearly 10,000 instruments united together around the center, make the arena everywhere resound with different airs of victory and of triumph . . . with the most ravishing harmony.
>
> And meanwhile night begins. . . . an immense *fireworks display* is prepared in wooden frames dispersed everywhere and masked by garlands, foliage, and flags; and soon the heavens appear embraced by a thousand fires which shoot up on all sides, which cross in all directions, which present a thousand colors and a thousand forms, and which terminate with the most magnificent *bouquet* that one can imagine.
>
> The festival is nevertheless not ended. For in leaving the arena, accompanied by sixty bands, the People find their awnings decorated with garlands and flags, their ordinary lighting replaced with an *illumination* (always of gas) which, in the streets as on the facades and the monuments or in the foliage of the trees of the public promenades, present a thousand colors, a thousand different inscriptions, and a thousand diverse forms.
>
> It is not yet over. Arriving at Valmore's house, we all went up to the terrace where supper had been prepared before we left. And there, while eating, we enjoyed a totally new and magnificient spectacle.
>
> We saw all of the terraces illuminated and filled with families eating supper, laughing and singing; all of the banisters outlined by the illumination; and up above, all the peaks of the mountains likewise illuminated and outlined by the light.
>
> Then, in order to signal retreat, the large archway of the heavens, obscured by the night, appears suddenly inflamed by

> thousands of fires of all colors darting in all directions from 100 balloons, dispersed to 500 or 600 feet high over the city, discharging finally on it an immense shower of stars and fire.[19]

Icarian recreation in theory was one thing, but put into practice in America, it was another matter. The smallness of the communities compared to the literary model — about 500 residents at the most at Nauvoo and never over 100 at Corning, Iowa — simplified the ideal. Nevertheless, as Albert Shaw has observed in *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism*, "although they are far from the condition of the Happy Icarians in the *Voyage*, . . .considering the difficulties they have encountered they [Icarians in America] must be accredited with having done reasonably well."[20] Contemporary accounts also testify to the relatively high level of cultural life at Nauvoo and Corning. Two visitors to Nauvoo during the summer of 1855, Jean-Francois Cretinon and Francois-Marie Lacour, described the Icarians at their leisure. Pierre Bourg, a devoted disciple of Cabet, also recorded in his journal and letters their agreeable, bucolic pastimes. And Marie Marchand Ross, whose childhood was spent in the Icarian colony at Corning when the Nauvoo Icaria was transplanted to that location in 1860, fondly recalled the pleasant hours of amusements in her book *Child of Icaria*.[21]

The three main aspects of recreation portrayed by Cabet in the *Travels* — music and dancing, the theater, and festivals — all figured prominently in the daily life of the communities. The Nauvoo orchestra of thirty-six musicians, for instance, was an outstanding cultural achievement in frontier America. The group, under the direction of Claude Antoinne Grubert, performed regularly every Sunday afternoon. The concerts were probably more like modern municipal band performances than those of a symphony orchestra, though, for two reasons. First, the composition of the instrumentation as listed in their newspaper, *Colonie Icarienne*, on September 27, 1854, shows four ophicleides (a predecessor of the tuba), one clavichord, four trombones, six clarinets, five cornets, eight trumpets, one flute, and one neocor (similar to a french horn), as well as one player each for the bass drum and cymbal, two drummers, and two musicians on the triangle.[22] Apparently Grubert had no intention of changing the concert-band structure of the group, for he advertised that in order to complete the orchestra it was necessary only to add an E-flat clarinet.[23] In addition to instrumentation, the type of music they played was clearly of the popular vein. Extant muscial scores bear such titles as "Song of the Transporters," "Hymn of Harmony," "Second March of Two Days Work," "Popular Invocation," "No More Cries," and "I Preserve It For My Wife."[24] And, from time to time, they reorganized slightly into a marching band and played military pieces. At Corning the musical tradition

continued but with a change of emphasis from concerts to opera. As a regular practice, every other Saturday, an opera was presented in the dining hall. On other occasions violins accompanied an Icarian chorus in the singing of Icarian hymns. And, in 1877, they put together an orchestra made up of the horns, flutes, and clarinets which had been brought over from Nauvoo.[25]

Another function of the orchestra, both at Nauvoo and Corning, was to accompany the colony's theatrical productions. Indeed, Lacour thought that this duty was its primary responsibility. He wrote that although they play pretty tunes their main activities were found "especially at the theater."[26] His description of this aspect of Icarian culture is one of the few surviving accounts of theatrical life at the Nauvoo Icaria:

> The stage is at the end of the dining hall . . . . Benches used for the meals are placed in such a way that everyone can see very well. There are some complimentary passes given to a few American families. Icarian actors are doing their best in order to render some comedies and vaudevilles. I attended the performance of *The Salamander, The Hundred Piques, The Miser's Daughter* and I myself was a member of the cast in *The Fisherman's Daughter.*[27]

One of the most interesting aspects of Lacour's account was that even though he was in Nauvoo for less than four months, from April 14 to August 7, 1855, he noted a production of one play each month, an impressive record.

The orchestra also supported what might be labeled Icarian song-and-dance excursions. Jules Prudhommeaux, who in 1907 published the only full account of the Icarians, believed that their delight in such activities sprang from their social background in Europe. "The Icarians," he wrote, "most of them of the working men and women of the big cities of France, liked very much to sing 'la gaugriole' or to hum melodies, so that [the community] was never embarrassed to set up a program."[28] It was those excursions, also called promenades, which came nearest to duplicating on the Mississippi frontier the extravagant festivals depected in Cabet's book. Lacour described two of those outings which took place along the river in a wooded glen called the "Woods of the Young Ladies." On the seventeenth of June, 1855, he recorded the following event in his diary under the caption "Promenade in Icaria."

> The sky this morning promised us a beautiful day. Almost half of the members of the colony are part of this promenade. The band, composed of young men of the school, played several military marches. We descended along the river, arriving in a pretty little wooded area called the "Woods of the Young Ladies," each one seated himself on the grass by sections of ten. A wagon contains the dinner which is made up of ham, radishes, and kneips. The

> more obliging go to fetch the drinks, which is composed of soft water and muddy water of the Mississippi or of a small brook a little distance away. The musicians organize themselves into a dance orchestra. Some of us take part in the dance. But whenever three o'clock comes along, the sun beats down in such a way that no one wants to dance any longer; by then the tired musicians play only wrong notes on their instruments.[29]

Pierre Bourg, in his journal, described the following pastoral occasion at the Nauvoo Icaria:

> We were nearly two hundred . . . our venerable and venerated patriarch walked with a joyeous air in the middle of us, our whole ensemble formed an appearance of a large and happy family. A magnificent sky, an air pure and fresh, the trees, the flowers, the fruits unknown to us, the prairie, the valleys, the forests, all of this luxury of light, of vegetation, of the vigorous American greenery doubled our feeling of holiday. . . . our promenade had, besides, a very attractive objective, especially for the women and children: to concentrate on the gathering of walnuts, an inexhaustible crop in this country. After having picked a grove of trees in the woods situated along the river, we went to have our dinner set out on the grass, in a glen, next to a brook, under a tent of foilage: and then, the repast finished, defying a prescription of Raspail, to rest, our orchestra played some quadrilles and waltzes in order to make us sing and pirouette like the mythological hostes of the ancient forest. . . Finally, at sundown, very tired but happy, we returned to the communal building where at supper, promptly served, we were given a few chilly glances for having kept it waiting.[30]

At the Corning Icaria the tradition of the promenade continued. As remembered by Marie Marchand Ross from her childhood days in the colony, it was an annual occasion, in the fall after the harvest. This "Fete du Mais" (Festival of the Corn) involved

> . . . many friends and neighbors [who] came to help with the last day of corn picking. . . . Early in the afternoon, when the harvest was finished, all cleaned up and dressed and repaired to the dining room where a real feast was served. . . . There were speeches and toasts made. Old songs were sung, and, after the tables were cleared and pushed out of the way, the first drama was held on the new floor.[31]

Yet, obviously, there was nothing remotely equivalent to the patriotic holiday celebrating the founding of Icaria on July 14, 1782. At Nauvoo, on July 4, Independence Day was commemorated by Icarians and Americans alike in the following way, as depicted in Lacour's diary:

> In the city all of the guns are fired into the air; in every respect one never sees or hears anything like that. Some children of

> scarcely twelve years old set off firecrackers; that continues all night long. The Icarians set off cans made by an anvil; on the Temple square and at the top of a large pole, flies the national flag of the United States.
>
> The next morning, one sees arriving from everywhere, in carriages or on horseback, Americans in holiday dress who gather together at Nauvoo. One sees flying the white and blue striped flag of Illinois. The Icarians all gather together and the orchestra with the students at the head form a long procession. They make their way to the "Woods of the Young Ladies" where are placed a platform and some benches. After having read the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and that done in English, in German, and in French, several American orators make their 'speech.'
>
> The ministers of different religious faiths say some prayers, then the cortage resumes its march in crying out 'Hurrah.' That evening in the colony, banquet, theater, orchestra, and choirs are performed with much enjoyment and togetherness.[32]

Marie Marchand Ross recounted a similar Fourth of July celebration at the Iowa colony:

> The Icarians always celebrated the 4th of July. Young and old took part in the demonstration. On the eve of the great day the cook was busy in the kitchen. . .preparing good things to eat. . . . In the evening when the sun was setting and the air seemed nice and cool after the heat of the day, all would gather around the old mill. . . . Up went the flag of red, white and blue, to the applause and cheers of the crowd, to the roar of guns and the sound of trumpets. All joined in singing the "Star Spangled Banner," "America" and other American patriotic hymns. This went on till dark when all said good-night and returned to their homes. . .[33]

The similarity between the high artistic expression depicted by Cabet in his novel and the actual artistic expression of Icarians in America was not the only parallel between the ideal and the real in the Icarian communities. There was at Nauvoo in particular, as in the fictional Icaria, a pervasive tone of moralism: all pleasures had a moral objective. This goal was explicit. On the curtain of the theater in the dining hall was the statement: "Theater entertains, instructs and moralizes."[34] Emile Vallet, who lived at Nauvoo as child in the 1850's and saw this righteous recreation in practice, remembered in his book *An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, written in 1891, that "their recreations were moral. Nothing was allowed that would have shocked the most scrupulous nature." "All songs, poems, or dramas exhibited on their stage," he wrote, "were submitted to a commission, which did carefully eliminate all that could have a demoralizing influence."[35]

The historian Prudhommeaux supports Vallet's account of censorship. He found that every proposed play was subject to approval by a special committee called the "Committee on Feasts" and, in addition, to the endorsement of Cabet. Such playwrights as Racine were forbidden because they were judged too dull and flavorless.

Moliere, on the other hand, was rejected for being too bold. Cabet's tastes ran to writers such as Voltaire, especially his tragedies and comedies. Vaudevilles were an important part of the Icarian repertoire. Concerning those productions, Cabet observed in an 1854 letter to his son-in-law, Jean Paul Beluze, then living in Paris: "We in general like pieces that are gay, spiritual, moral, and as far as possible conform to our principles without anything at all that could excite the dangerous passions." "When there are some good and some bad," he continued, "we cut out the bad if it is possible and we keep the good."[36] Other acceptable plays cited in the list were *Death to the Rats, Emile, or Six Heads in a Hat, The Short Straw Mattress,* and the *Seditious Caps.*

At Nauvoo, by the mid-1850's, the impact of such moralism, when combined with growing political problems over Cabet's leadership, took its toll on community morale. Visitors to the colony came away with what Prudhommeaux called a "morose impression."[37] One of them, a M.A. Holynske, published his reaction in Paris in 1892 in the *Revue Socialiste.* "Dispersed in small groups," he wrote, "they were not talking very much." "Several were lying down," he went on, "their inert faces reflecting no internal gaiety. The women remained seated apart from the men, in silence, with meloncholic and etiolated faces."[38] And Lacour, a couple of times, succumbed to the dismal atmosphere. "In a country so free, so vast, one should be able to have a great deal of fun," he complained, "and there is none of it at all in the colony: neither ball games, nor billiards, nothing, absolutely nothing."[39] Some of the members of the community never even bothered to participate in the amusements which were offered. Partly, Lacour believed, this was because they were "exhausted by overwork, disgusted by the few comforts," and therefore were "never able to enjoy anything."[40] And, towards the end of one of the afternoon outings he himself complained that "no one wants to dance any longer."[41]

Rectitude and melancholy notwithstanding, the Icarian enjoyment of the fine arts, in addition to the high level of their intellectural life (at Nauvoo they had the largest library in the state, over 5,000 volumes), sets them distinctly apart from other secular communal societies. Nor is this achievement true only of the Nauvoo colony. Professor Jacques Ranciere, of the faculty of the University of Paris, has described the community established at St. Louis by Cabet just before his death in 1856 as having its "band of students" and "Fraternal Festivals" where the Icarians continued to enjoy their "theater, purged in advance of . . . passions."[42] Music, festivals, and a high degree of literary activity were transplanted — along with most of the library — to the Iowa prairie when the Nauvoo colony moved there in 1860.

Whether successful or not, the followers of Cabet strenuously attempted to realize the ideal life of work and play as depicted by their founder in the pages of *Voyage en Icarie*. They persisted in seeing their community as one harmonious utopia, in the face of obvious contradictions. They seemed not to lose the vision of themselves as they were portrayed by Bourg in *Le Populaire* in 1849, when he wrote from Nauvoo to Paris that their "total assembly" offered "an aspect of a great and happy family . . . and everyone, happy, without jealously, without care, full of a free and expansive gaiety." "We live," he concluded, "in spite of ourselves, in realizing perhaps the influence unknown, alas, in the Old World, of Liberty, Equality and above all Fraternity."[43]

NOTES

[1]Etienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, 2nd ed. (Paris: J. Mallet et Cie, 1842), in a typescript translation by Robert P. Sutton, p. 3, in the Center for Icarian Studies, Western Illinois University.

[2]Ibid., pp. 137-38.

[3]Ibid., p. 278.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., pp. 278-79.

[8]Ibid., pp. 301-03.

[9]Ibid., p. 303.

[10]Ibid., p. 304.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., p. 371.

[14]Ibid., p. 373.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 374.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., p. 363.

[20]Albert Shaw, *Icaria, A Chapter in the History of Communism* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), p. 52. The book was re-issued in 1972 by Porcupine Press, Inc. under the title *The American Utopian Adventure: Icaria*.

[21]Marie Marchand Ross, *Child of Icaria* (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, Inc. 1976).

[22]*Colonie Icarienne*, September 27, 1854, p. 4.

[23]Ibid.

[24]See *The Center For Icarian Studies Newsletter*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 7. The first three titles are in the collections of the Center while the last three are in the hands of Dale Larsen of Omaha, Nebraska.

[25]Elizabeth Ann Rogers, "The Housing and Family Life of the Icarian Colonies," M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1973, p. 82.

[26]Fernand Rude, *Voyage en Icaria Deux Ouvriers Viennois aux Etats-unis en 1855* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952), p. 155.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Jules Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur Etienne Cabet* (Paris: Edouard Cornely et Cie, Editeurs, 1907), p. 336. The book was reprinted under the same title by Porcupine Press, Inc. in 1972.

[29]Rude, *Deux Cuvriers Viennois*, p. 154.

[30]*Le Populaire*, December 2, 1849.

[31]Ross, *Child of Icaria*, p. 108.

[32]Rude, *Deux Ouvriers Viennois*, pp.158-59.

[33]Ross, *Child of Icaria*, p. 32.

[34]Rude, *Deux Ouvriers Viennois*, p. 155.

[35]Emile Vallet, *Communism: History of the Experiment at Nauvoo of the Icarian Settlement* (Nauvoo, Illinois: Nauvoo Rustler, 1917). Reprinted in H. Roger Grant, ed., *An Icarian Experiment in Nauvoo* (Springfield, Il., Illinois State Historical Society, 1971), p. 31.

[36]Prudhommeaux, *Icarie*, p. 336.

[37]Ibid., p. 313.

[38]Quoted in Ibid., pp. 333-34.

[39]Rude, *Deux Ouvriers Viennois*, p. 155.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Jacques Ranciere, *La nuit des proletaires* (Paris: Librairie Artheme Fayard, 1981), p. 388.

[43]Rogers, "Housing and Family Life," p. 82.

[44]*Le Populaire*, December 2, 1849

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JOHN HAY ON GARFIELD'S DEATHBED LATIN

George Monteiro

The John Hay letter presented below is unknown to his biographers and bibliographers. It has been recovered from the pages of the *New York Tribune*, a journal which employed Hay as an editorial writer from 1870 to 1875 and as its editor on an interim basis for several months in 1881. Indeed, it was within days in 1881 of his having left New York and the *Tribune* for his home in Cleveland, Ohio, that he wrote his letter in reaction to a short piece in the December 1881 issue of the *Century Magazine*, addressing it to the *Tribune's* editor. Hay dated his letter 25 November 1881, the December *Century* having come out around 20 November.

The background for Hay's letter begins on 2 July 1881 when Charles J. Guiteau, a disgruntled office seeker, shot President James A Garfield in the Washington, D.C. railway station. Gravely wounded, Garfield lingered for weeks, only to die on 19 September 1881. Two months later the *Century* published in facsimile a Garfield autograph dating from 17 July, just fifteen days after Garfield had been shot.[1]

The circumstances surrounding this puzzling autograph were described by Colonel A.F. Rockwell in a letter printed in the *Century* along with the autograph. It reads in part: "On Sunday, July 17, at noon, at his [Garfield's] request for writing materials, I placed in his hand a clip and pencil. Lying on his back and holding up the clip in his left hand, he then wrote his name and the prophetic words, "Strangulatus pro Republica," the facsimile of which I now authorize you to publish. What epitaph more significant, eloquent, and truthful than this — his own!"

Rockwell's letter, dated 17 October 1881, does not translate the Latin phrase Garfield chose to write after his signature, though later he would admit in a letter to Hay that "in conversation" he had "used the word 'slaughtered,' " because that word possessed for him "the burning intensity of truth."[2] The *Century's* editors determined rather

John Hay as Secretary of State, about 1898. Courtesy of Brown University Library.

explicitly, however, that the phrase "Strangulatus pro Republica" was to be translated "Slaughtered for the Republic." On 30 November 1881 the *New York Tribune* published Hay's letter under the heading, " 'Strangulatus Pro Republica': What General Garfield Meant By It" (p.4) —

> Sir: The December number of *The Century Magazine* gives a facsimile of a remarkable autograph of the late President written on the 17th of July — his name followed by the words *Strangulatus pro Republica.* The phrase is translated by Colonel Rockwell, in whose presence it was written, and by the editor of the magazine — "Slaughtered for the Republic." Colonel Rockwell does not intimate that the President himself translated the words in that way, and we are therefore free to construe the passage as it stands. With all due respect to Colonel Rockwell — whose knowledge of Latin is probably better than mine — I cannot help thinking that the tragic fate of his friend and classmate has suggested a reading of the phrase which it will hardly bear. The Latin *strangulare*, in its literal sense, applies exclusively to death by choking or suffocation. It is derived, without change of meaning, from the corresponding Greek verb, which comes in turn from the noun *straggala*, a halter. So good a Latinist as the President would scarcely have chosen a word of such narrow and inappropriate meaning, when the better word *occisus*, to describe death by wounding, must have been ready to his hand. But there is a metaphorical meaning of *strangulatus* which is used in the poets and in writers of post-classical prose, especially writers upon law, which was probably in General Garfield's mind, as he lay chained to his bed in that long midsummer agony. The word in that sense means "tortured" or "tormented." There is authority for such use of it in Ovid, Seneca and Juvenal.[3] All the evidence we have indicates that on the 17th of July the President's own hope of recovery, as well as that of his attendants, was still strong. May we not then reasonably infer that this most impressive and memorable legend means "Tortured for the Commonwealth?"
>
> JOHN HAY

NOTES

[1]"An Autograph of President Garfield," *Century Magazine*, Dec. 1881, p. 298. 23:298.

[2]MS letter, A.F. Rockwell to John Hay, 30 November 1881, Brown University Libraries. Quoted with consent.

[3]The *Tribune* for 27 December 1881 (p.2) printed a letter on this topic over the single initial "L," signing out of Millbrook, N.Y.:

> I think that when the late President Garfield wrote the words quoted above ["Strangulatus Pro Republica"], he must have had in mind the following lines of Ovid, namely:
>
> "Strangulat inclusus dolor atque exaestuat intus, Cogitur et virea multiplicare suas," Tristia, v., 1, 63.
>
> Pain, internally confined, torments there and ferments and is thus compelled to increase its strength.

THE LEGAL PHILOSOPHY OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

Scott Owen Reed

Few lawyer-orators have taken as great a fall from the heights of lifetime prominence to the depths of posthumous obscurity as has Robert G. Ingersoll. In his day, Ingersoll was one of Illinois' most famous "sons." His reputation as an exponent of agnosticism, as a political publicist, and as a lawyer of the first order was well-nigh nationwide. However, after his death, Ingersoll seems to have been all but forgotten by those of his own profession, even in his home state. Aside from an occasional anecdote or shred of biography, little is to be found on Ingersoll in legal literature.[1] This is an unfortunate omission, for even though he did not survive into this century, Robert Ingersoll exerted a powerful influence on many who did, especially among those who practiced or shaped the law. Robert LaFollette, William E. Borah, Clarence Darrow, Albert J. Beveridge and Eugene Debs all acknowledged their intellectual debt to him. In fact, one of Ingersoll's biographers has claimed that if one reads Darrow on Fundamentalism, one reads Ingersoll.[2] In his autobiography, Darrow recalled the impact that Ingersoll had had on his legal career:

> When I was beginning to absorb and to act, all the young lawyers and speakers were aping Ingersoll's style . . . . I heard him twice, and with every one in the audience I was entranced. Along with the other aspiring lawyers I tried to adopt his style, and I think I succeeded fairly well, at that time, but it was not Ingersoll. Others tried, too, but most of them failed, so far as I knew. I have found a few who mastered his form of expression, but they lacked what Ingersoll never lacked, and that was something worth saying. I took myself in hand. I made up my mind that I could not be Ingersoll and had no right to try, and did not want to try; the best I could do was to be myself.[3]

A man who was so important in moulding the thoughts and habits of many of this century's lawyers should not be relegated to the dust of the archives. In this paper, I intend to (1) give a brief biographical picture of Ingersoll the lawyer and (2) present and analyze his conceptions of the role of law in society. Only then may Ingersoll's impact upon the bar of this century be assessed.

I. Ingersoll's Legal Career

In many ways, the legal career of Robert Ingersoll typifies that of the self-made nineteenth-century lawyer, but his fame as an agnostic orator distinguished him from the rest of his profession. Born on August 11, 1833 in Dresden, New York, Ingersoll was the son of an evangelical minister, the Reverend John Ingersoll. His mother, Mary, an ardent abolitionist like her husband, died when Robert was two years old. Not only were the five Ingersoll children, of whom Robert was the youngest, without a mother, but they were also without a permanent home for most of their youth. Reverend Ingersoll's career took the family from New York City to Cazenovia, Hampton, and Belleville in New York, to Oberlin, Ashtabula, and North Madison in Ohio, and to Milwaukee, to mention but a few of the stops along the way. This period contributed to the formation of many of Ingersoll's beliefs, including his reaction against orthodox religion. Referring to his strict upbringing and to memories of fire and brimstone, Ingersoll later remarked that "I have a dim recollection of hating Jehovah when I was extremely small."[4]

When he was eighteen, Robert headed for Conneautville, Pennsylvania to find work in the lumber business of a relative. This fell through and Robert rejoined his father in Greenville, Illinois, where he received a general education at the "academy" of Socrates Smith. With a smattering of formal schooling behind him, he was able to earn a modest living as a teacher in Mount Vernon, Illinois. But Robert had to abandon this position to tend to his father, then in Marion, Illinois, who had fallen ill with pneumonia. Ingersoll was first exposed to the law in Marion. He found employment as an assistant to the clerk of the county and circuit courts, studying law in the offices of Willis Allen in his spare time. This was also cut short for Robert when he accompanied his father to Tennessee, where he found another teaching job. Teaching and Tennessee both left him dissatisfied, and he returned to Marion and the law. After less than six months of further study in the Allen offices, Robert and his elder brother Ebenezer (Ebon) Clark Ingersoll were admitted to the Illinois bar in 1854.

The Ingersoll brothers practiced law in Marion and in Shawneetown. Robert wrote that "I shall leave this country as soon as I feel confident that I am a first-rate lawyer."[5] He acted on this prediction when he and Clark moved to Peoria to establish a law office in February of 1858. As speaking ability was vital to the budding trial lawyer of this era, and as the Ingersolls did not want for that skill, Robert was able to say, "I think we are going to make lots of money."[6] The Ingersoll law offices were lighted with gas, which prompted Robert to proclaim that "gas you know is an excellent

Robert Ingersoll in 1868.

thing in law, in fact indispensable."[7] Some have intimated that, in addition to an appreciation of the equipment of the office, this is also an Ingersollian jab at the substance of his profession, or at his fellow practitioners.[8]

As might be expected of one with the skills of a polished orator and the prestige of an accomplished attorney, Ingersoll tried his hand at politics. He was the Democratic candidate for the Congressional seat from Peoria in 1860, but he went down to defeat along with Stephen A. Douglas and many others of his party. The outbreak of war saw Robert organize the 11th Illinois Cavalry, which he led into action the following year. In the meantime, he had married Eva Parker, a religious rationalist from neighboring Groveland. Ingersoll was captured by Confederate forces in Tennessee, but he was soon returned to Peoria where he could continue his career.

Immediately after the war, Ingersoll's reputation began to grow at an ever-increasing rate. He delivered the first of his well-known addresses, "Progress," in 1866, and the next year, was appointed as Illinois' first Attorney-General by his friend, Governor Richard J. Oglesby. Robert was firmly in the Republican camp by this time, and he sought that party's nomination for governor in 1868. Unsuccessful, he turned from an active role in politics, henceforth to serve only as an orator for, not a candidate in, the Republican Party.

As he abandoned his aspirations as a politican, Ingersoll expanded his efforts as a champion of agnosticism, delivering such lectures as "The Gods," "Humboldt," "Thomas Paine," "Individuality," and "Heretics and Heresies" in which he could express his true feelings on religion, knowing that he had no political future to lose. His popularity as a lecturer extended far beyond Illinois. The strength of his persuasive powers took him east to Maine and west to California. It was at the 1876 Republican National Convention, however, that Ingersoll earned for himself the status of a national figure, and perhaps his best-known place in American history. The Maine delegation, because of Ingersoll's great successes as a speaker in that state, requested him to nominate James G. Blaine for the presidency, and Robert did not disappoint them: "Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor."[9] The enthusiasm generated by Ingersoll's eloquence was somewhat dissipated because the convention was adjourned until the next day, when Blaine lost the nomination to Rutherford B. Hayes. Nonetheless, the "man from Maine" and the "plumed knight" metaphor were inextricably linked from then on.

For some time, Ingersoll had not been satisfied with Peoria. He

had written that "this place is infinitely stupid and getting more so every day,"[10] and that in Peoria "too much has to be done for too little money."[11] Thus, in 1878, the Ingersoll family moved to Washington, D.C., where they remained until 1885. Most of Robert's time was spent on speech-making rather than on the practice of law; at that stage in his career, he could command between $400 and $7,000 an appearance. This does not mean that he abandoned the law; on the contrary, in 1882 and 1883, he was defense counsel in the so-called "Star Route Trials," involving allegations of corruption in the procurement and use of mail route contracts. It was one of the most celebrated, and lengthy, legal battles of the decade, and Ingersoll obtained an acquittal — perhaps by virtue of his oratorical prowess rather than from the apparent innocence of his clients.

Another move was prompted in 1885 by Robert's increasing need to be present in New York to tend to legal business. After he had opened his law offices at 40 Wall Street, he wrote, "here I am among the bulls and the bears listening to the bellowing and the growling, ready to take the side that hands over the money first."[12] Among Ingersoll's more noteworthy legal nemeses were the corporate creatures of Jay Gould, against which Ingersoll represented such potential takeover victims as the Bankers' and Merchants' Telegraph Company, The New York Elevated Railroad, and the Commercial Telegraph Company. While corporate litigation was a staple for "Bob," he did accept an occasional criminal case, including the trial of C.B. Reynolds for violation of a long-dormant New Jersey blasphemy statute. Reynolds was found guilty, but the nominal fine imposed (and paid by Ingersoll) made this a moral victory for Ingersoll, who took the case largely because of his association with the cause of agnosticism. His religious beliefs also led him to turn down the request for assistance from the chief defense counsel in the trial resulting from the 1886 Haymarket Affair for fear of prejudicing the defendants.

One of Ingersoll's last major cases came in 1891, with the contest over the multi-million dollar will of Andrew J. Davis, litigated in Montana. The heirs of Davis promised Ingersoll $100,000 if the will were broken, but the case was eventually compromised and the legal fees earned by Ingersoll were only paid to his widow in 1909, after she brought a suit which finally reached the U.S. Supreme Court. Nonetheless, Ingersoll was able to write (albeit in 1890), "I think the law a good profession."[13]

Ingersoll's substantial involvement in legal work in New York did not detract from his presence on the lecture circuit or his prominence as a national figure. In fact, his residence in New York spurred associations and gatherings with many movers and shakers in politics, business and the arts, including Andrew Carnegie, Thomas Bracket

Reed, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Henry George, Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. Ingersoll's agnostic addresses and writings remained popular; in 1887, when the *North American Review* invited him to contribute to a theological debate, along with William E. Gladstone and Henry Cardinal Manning, it offered Ingersoll $25 a page, while it paid Gladstone only $15.

Ingersoll pursued a full lecture schedule until 1896, when he suffered a slight cerebral hemorrhage while speaking in Wisconsin. He returned to the lecture platform within a few months, but on a slightly more restricted timetable. For the next two years, he devoted himself almost exclusively to his speaking tours, up to his unexpected death from angina pectoris on July 21, 1899. His passing was marked by messages and eulogies from, among others, Andrew Carnegie, Clarence Darrow, and Mark Twain.

The controversy spawned by Robert Ingersoll's theological views did not subside with his death. An examination of periodical literature from the first quarter of this century will attest to that. The posthumous tributes penned by such literary figures as Ambrose Bierce, Hamlin Garland, and Edgar Lee Masters stand for a different proposition: that no matter how little known Ingersoll may be today, his influence on his own times was substantial.

II. Ingersoll's Legal Philosophy

The most significant barrier to the student of the juristic thought of Robert G. Ingersoll is in locating the "core" of that thought. For example, in a political speech delivered in 1877, Ingersoll mused, "I have sometimes wondered whether or not in the future there would not be discovered such a science as the science of government. I do not know what you think, but what little I do know, and what little experience has been mine, is, I must admit, against it."[14] Yet, in his address entitled "Crimes Against Criminals," he urged that "lawyers ought to be foremost in legislative and judicial reform, and of all men they should understand the philosophy of mind, the causes of human action, and the real science of government."[15] Nonetheless, when one looks past the rhetorical inconsistencies of the successful orator, one discovers an underlying system of jurisprudence that presents forceful and fundamental arguments about the relationship of man to his laws.

Many of Ingersoll's ideas stemmed from his views on the ordering of the world and the course of the history of mankind. The universe was a particularly orderly place to Ingersoll, who started with a scientific postulate as the basis for his philosophical system: "Substance (matter) cannot be destroyed."[16] Therefore, it could not

have been created: "And then I asked myself: What is force? We cannot conceive of the creation of force, or of its destruction. Force may be changed from one form to another — from motion to heat — but it cannot be destroyed — annihilated. If force cannot be destroyed it could not have been created. It is eternal."[17] Logically, to Ingersoll, "matter could not have existed before force. Force could not have existed before matter. Matter and force could only be conceived of together."[18]

Human thought fits into this scheme as "a form of force," and is therefore governed by all the laws that control other types of force.[19] In all matter was to be found, in some way, "what we call force," and one of the most important forms of force was "intelligence," which was present in various types of "substance" to a greater or lesser extent.[20]

It is clear from an analysis of Ingersoll's works that intelligence was the highest form of force. In his speeches to the juries in the Star Route trials, he extolled the virtues of the diffusion of intelligence by the use of the mails, and at one point went so far as to claim that "if there is anything that is to perpetuate this Republic it is the distribution of intelligence from one end to the other."[21] Intelligence was named as a substitute for the Bible as a moral guide, and was regarded as the key to the future progress of mankind.[22] As he put it in "Why I Am An Agnostic," "Perfect intelligence and perfect goodness must go together."[23]

One might suppose that a man who had given human intelligence a position of such prominence in the ordering of the universe would also place great importance on the will of the individual. But, one must recall that intelligence was like other forces, and thus no more or less predictable than inertia or friction. It was thus not under the control of the individual; rather, the individual was under the control of his own intelligence. As Ingersoll quaintly put it, "the brain thinks in spite of you."[24] His writings must be considered with this characterization of man in mind, for this is no isolated statement. As he said in "Progress," "States and nations, like individuals, do as they must. Back of revolution, of rebellion, of slavery and freedom, are the efficient causes."[25] This is one of the most oft-repeated themes in Ingersoll literature.[26]

Given this "determinist" view, Ingersoll could be expected to believe that "the natural is supreme."[27] He marvelled at the connection between events in such a way that "every fact in the universe will fit every other fact in the universe."[28] This should not be taken to mean, though, that Ingersoll's world was static, however much it was ruled by the laws of science. His theories on the history of mankind belie such an interpretation.

The fact that humanity was completely controlled by the forces

of nature led Ingersoll to look charitably upon his species. "There is an immensity of good in the human race," he said, though perhaps no more than in anything else produced by nature.[29] Whether this opinion was derived from his conception of the universe, or was merely a restatement of his philosophy of history is open to a good deal of speculation, but it is certain that Ingersoll's look backwards left him with a great amount of optimism for the future.

Ingersoll declared that "History is but the merest outline of the exceptional — of a few great crimes, calamities, wars, mistakes and dramatic virtues."[30] But this did not stop him from discerning a pattern to it (or, as some would say, from selecting a pattern and choosing the facts from history that supported it). The theme was stated in one of his earliest lectures, and countless variations followed during his career. Thus the history of mankind is the history of progress and improvement.[31] Ingersoll was able to observe the end products of this linear picture of history: "a majority of the civilized world is for freedom — nearly all the Christian denominations are for liberty. The world has changed — the people are nobler, better and purer than ever."[32] Similarly, he asserted, "the history of civilization is the history of the slow and painful enfranchisement of the human race."[33]

Perhaps Ingersoll looked at his own era, compared it with his conception of the past, and concluded that continuous progress was a necessary component of human society. Perhaps he engaged in a detailed analysis of two of his least favorite institutions, slavery and organized religion, and generalized from his perception of their decline. In either case, he felt that material and intellectual advances were inevitable, all due to the omnipresent "force" called intelligence.

The only limits to progress were its causes: history and intelligence. In his essay on "Art and Morality," Ingersoll noted that "of course there is no such thing as absolute morality."[34] Morality, like other thoughts, is produced by man's surroundings, by the action and interaction of things upon his mind.[35] As he put it, "Actions are deemed right or wrong, according to experience and the conclusions of reason."[36] Since Ingersoll was wont to equate morality with intellect, it seems fair to conclude that actions were deemed productive or counter-productive to the good of mankind according to the same factors. Of these, intelligence showed the greatest promise to lead to solutions of present and future problems faced by man. If man "is intelligent in the highest sense he will be good, and if good and intelligent he will know that his highest good can be obtained only through the happiness of others, and by means that tend to better the condition of the race. It seems to me that intelligence (enough of it) will cause the selfish and the generous to act in the same way."[37]

As one type of force may be converted into another, so may human thought be changed into "intelligence," by the dissemination of knowledge, particularly of science.[38] Ingersoll frequently applauded the Republican Party as "the party of reason . . . the party of education . . . the party of science."[39] He stated that "the first thing is to be born right," in other words, with certain intellectual capacities; "the next, to grow up in a climate of kindness and refinement, and the next, to be 'really' educated — taught the useful."[40] Thus, man became more intelligent with more experience to draw upon, and the few who were truly intelligent would gradually modify man's environment so that it would impart a better set of experiences to future generations.

Eventually, man would reach perfection. Ingersoll believed "that finally wisdom will sit in the legislatures, justice in the courts, charity will occupy all the pulpits, and that finally the world will be governed by justice and charity, and by the splendid light of liberty."[41] As he said in his lecture on "Progress,"

> We are standing on the shore of an infinite ocean whose countless waves, freighted with blessings, are welcoming our adventurous feet. Progress has been written on every soul. The human race is advancing. Forward oh sublime army of progress, forward until law is justice, forward until ignorance is unknown, forward while there is a spiritual or temporal throne, forward until superstition is a forgotten dream, forward until the world is free, forward until human reason, clothed in the purple of authority, is king of kings.[42]

Yet, Ingersoll's vision of the future was not as unqualifiedly optimistic as the statement above would lead one to believe. He realized that those without the proper element of intelligence would act as a perpetual source of friction on the forward motion of mankind: "This is the reason that the work of raising the race seems so enormous and the time for its accomplishment so long."[43] He was also of the opinion, however, that the exceptional individuals could not speed the rate of society's enlightenment by forming their own societies. He wrote that "probably the society in which we live — that has been formed by necessity — is the best that can at present exist. My hope is, that it will grow: better, day by day. But the world will never be reformed by the good people acting together — they have to remain with the rest."[44]

There was little room for chance in Ingersoll's history; one could trace civilization with the use of the map of experience and the compass of reason. This, of course, is the barest trace of a theory of history, and Ingersoll himself realized that the details of the relationship between natural laws and human behavior could not be

specified to any great extent until man's arsenal of scientific knowledge had grown appreciably. In a letter to Horace Traubel, he mused, "perhaps Civilization and Savagery pursue each other like light and darkness around the globe. Perhaps after a time the soil occupied by a nation — a people — wears out and the nation goes down mentally and physically, and then the land lies idle for centuries getting ready for a better race."[45] Nonetheless, Ingersoll believed that the best society would dominate the world eventually, in much the same way that he believed that his Republic would "control every inch of soil from the Arctic to the Antarctic."[46]

This should not be taken to mean that, since Ingersoll thought that perfect goodness and perfect intelligence would ultimately triumph, he also thought that whatever survived was, of necessity, good. As he said in another letter to Traubel, "The 'Plan' of Nature I detest. Competition, and struggle, the survival of the strongest, of those with the sharpest claws and longest teeth. Life feeding on life with ravenous, merciless hunger — every leaf a battlefield — war everywhere. No wonder that man has believed in devils."[47] To call Ingersoll a pure "social Darwinist," then, may be to go too far. But there is a fine line between a world in which progress is determined by the laws of nature and one in which it is determined by intelligence and experience, which are controlled by the laws of nature. Ingersoll may have wanted to place his faith in some element of man beyond his scientific capacities, but could find no method by which to do so without returning to the mysticism and superstition which he detested. As in other issues, the radical and the orthodox tugged at Ingersoll's sleeve, and his writings and speeches indicate that neither was able to win him over.

Ingersoll was also a political orator, but it seems that his philosophical creed dictated his political affiliations rather than vice versa. The rationalist unveiled in his views on history appears again with great force in his theories of government. That men would form a government was inevitable; that they would agree to band together no sooner than the formation of a government was incredible:

> So the defenders of monarchy have taken the ground that societies were formed by contract — as though at one time men all lived apart, and came together by agreement and formed a government. We might just as well say that the trees got into groves by contract or conspiracy. Man is a social being. By living together there grow out of the relation, certain regulations, certain customs. These at last hardened into what we call *law* — into what we call forms of government — and people who wish to defend the idea that we got everything from the king, say that our fathers made a contract. Nothing can be more absurd. Men did not agree upon a form of government and then come togther; but being together, they made rules for the regulation of conduct.[48]

Government thus reflects the practices rather than the aspirations of the men who founded it, and its formation was one of necessity, though certainly not the necessity found in Hobbes. Ingersoll, denying the contractual theory of government, also denied that man could alienate his inherent right to self defense when he either joined a society or formed a government: "The right of self-defense exists, not only in the individual, but in society."[49] Instead of viewing the individual's right of self-defense as opposed to society's right, he saw them as mutally supportive, and in fact, the latter was no more than an aggregation of the former. The government, from that stance, never took on a life of its own, or a value in its mere existence, as it may have done for Edmund Burke, but instead was valid insofar as it reflected the activities of the people it served.

Consensus was, of course, the basis for Ingersoll's government, but a true consensus was achieved only with "the recorded will of a majority."[50] By this, he meant not that the votes should be weighted according to the intellect or goodness of a voter, but only that a vote be free of the pull of special interest groups. One could ascertain whether the law was free of those illicit influences by the way in which it conformed to the habits of the governed.

Once a duly constituted majority had expressed its will, the government was bound to follow that voice, and as Ingersoll intimated during a political speech in the Grant campaign, it then becomes the duty of the citizen to "enforce submission to the will of the majority."[51] This may be mere rhetoric aided by hindsight, as he here countered arguments placed forward by the secessionists. In another context, Ingersoll was not quite as emphatic about the dominance of the will of a majority. He believed that "no man should be compelled to adopt the theology of another; neither should a minority, however small, be forced to acquiesce in the opinions of a majority, however large," and, in 1868, he excoriated Ulysses S. Grant for accepting the Republican presidential nomination on terms which indicated that he was to be no more than a conduit for the voice of the people.[52] This may be seen as Ingersoll's retreat from purely majoritarian rule if it suited him, as in the issues of religion. It makes more sense, however, to accept his democratic theories only within the legitimate sphere of government.

Libertarian oratory adorns the pages of Ingersoll's works. He said, for example, "Government and laws are for the preservation of rights and the regulation of conduct. One man should not be allowed to interfere with the liberty of another."[53] In "Civil Rights" he commented that the preservation of liberty "is the only use for government. There is no other excuse for legislatures, or presidents, or courts, for statutes or decisions."[54] And he continued,

Robert Ingersoll in 1899.

> Liberty is not simply a means — it is an end. Take from our history, our literature, our laws, our hearts — that word, and we are naught but moulded clay. Liberty is the one priceless jewel. It includes and holds and is the weal and wealth of life. Liberty is the soil and light and rain — it is the plant and bud and flower and fruit — and in that sacred word lie all the seeds of progress, love and joy.[55]

One might have thought that Ingersoll was addressing the Virginia House of Burgesses a century earlier. And if his patriot garb does not adequately allow him to express his vehemence in support of liberty, the suit of a lawyer certainly does. In his "Centennial Oration," he said, "Let us be independent of party, independent of everybody and everything, except our own consciences and our own brains . . . . Have the clear title-deeds in fee simple to yourselves, without any mortgage on the premises to anybody in the world."[56]

Typically, government acted to preserve liberty when it did not thrust itself upon its citizens. Regulation was to be used as little as possible, for it is not as effective as education.[57] Ingersoll set limits on the power of the government; it could operate more freely if it acted to preserve rights, as in enforcing civil rights measures, but it should refrain from acting if it interferes with those rights, as it does, according to Ingersoll, when it pays individuals to act as informers. After all, "the business of a government is to protect its citizens, not to spread nets."[58]

In the writings of Ingersoll, it is difficult to discern a definition of "liberty" or of "rights." Since both are assumed, it is not entirely clear from whence either is derived, though Ingersoll hinted at the source of man's rights in his essay "God in the Constitution":

> A constitution is for the government of man in this world. It is the chain that people put upon their servants as well as upon themselves. It defines the limit of power and the limit of obedience. It follows then, that nothing should be in a constitution that cannot be enforced by the power of the state — that is, by the army and navy. Behind every provision of the Constitution should stand the force of the nation. Every sword, every bayonet, every cannon should be there.[59]

He hypothesized that the inclusion of a religion clause in the Constitution, requiring belief in a supreme being, would be unenforceable, not because it transgressed morality to legislate religion, but instead because laws could not influence theological beliefs. Hypocrites would conform without believing, and the conscientious would believe without conforming.

It is obvious that in Ingersoll's system, a constitution may not require the government to act out an impossibility. But there is little startling material here. The interesting question to put to Ingersoll is whether individuals, acting under the noble banner of majority

rule, may allow, or indeed require, the government to do all but the impossible. Certainly he believed that with a wide and increasing dissemination of intelligence, people would choose to have their government interfere with them less and less, as they became more competent to ensure their own liberty. Nonetheless, he could have conceived of a government which acted according to the true will of a majority, which infringed significantly upon individual liberty, and which did not aspire to the impossible.

Here again, two forces exert themselves on the philosophy of Robert G. Ingersoll. Much of his rhetoric would lead one to believe that he supported strict majoritarian rule, in the hope that education, science and reason would render insubstantial the dangers posed to individual rights. Yet, he was not sure enough of this principle to press it to its conclusions. He could not rely upon the concept of "rights" to moderate the excesses of democracy, because he could find no source for those rights that was consonant with his system. A "social contract," the "will of the majority," and "natural law," were all unsatisfactory, for various reasons. Thus, the conflict between democracy and liberty was left largely unresolved in the Ingersoll theory of government. At most, his speeches and writings point to a preference for "liberty," while finding no source for it any deeper than the Constitution of the United States. It could have been that he thought the task of accommodating the conflict too complex for such an all-encompassing theory of government, and that the resolution of this question would be better left to the law.

Of necessity, Ingersoll's jurisprudential thought was colored by his actual experiences with the law. Thus, his opinion of the value of his profession took many turns throughout his life. Ingersoll the celebrity was able to encourage several young men who wrote him to make a career of the law.[60] But when he wrote about the law during his early days in Illinois, he complained more often than not. In Peoria, he said, "the whole practice of law here is simply odious to me."[61] While observing the state legislature at Springfield, he was "daily losing respect for . . . the thing called law,"[62] and after he had lost the Republican nomination for the governorship of Illinois in 1868, he wrote to his brother Clark that he dreaded returning "to the practice of that miserable profession known as the law."[63] Some say that Ingersoll delivered the ultimate epithet against the Democratic presidential candidate in 1876: "Who is Samuel J. Tilden? Samuel J. Tilden is an attorney. He never gave birth to an elevated, noble sentiment in his life. He is a kind of legal spider, watching in a web of technicalities for victims."[64]

Despite all this vitriol, Ingersoll found a place for the law in his scheme of things. Law was treated as another entry in the catalogue of human ideas, and "man gets all his ideas from his surroundings

— from all that has been experienced by his ancestors and by himself."[65] Therefore, "the human right of the people . . . to make and execute the laws" is a creature of the brain.[66] This may be taken to mean merely that all law is created by man, or that the power of man to make laws is constrained only by the bounds of his abilities to do so. As we shall see, Ingersoll did place limits on the reach of the law, but the restraints he suggested were minimal, placing few restrictions beyond the prohibition of legislation which was impossible to enforce.

Law, to Ingersoll, arose to legitimize pre-existing relationships, as did government. Property does not exist by virtue of law, rather, law exists by virtue of property: "It was the fact that man had property in lands and goods, that produced laws for the protection of such property . . . Laws passed for the protection of property, sprang from the possession and ownership of the thing to be protected."[67] If this is an accurate picture of the origins of law, then the legal system has no obligations of reform. The highest goal of the law was to reflect with accuracy the customs of the people on whose behalf it was enacted. Ingersoll warned his fellow citizens that "law is not a creative force," and though, to a large extent he spoke economically, he could also have meant it in a social sense.[68] "The legitimate object of law is to protect the weak, to prevent violence and fraud, and to enforce honest contracts, to the end that each person may be free to do as he desires, provided only that he does not interfere with the rights of others."[69]

Ingersoll's lecture on "Crimes Against Criminals," however, reveals a greater faith in the powers of the law. He postulated that "there are millions of people incapable of committing certain crimes, and it may be true that there are millions of others incapable of practicing certain virtues."[70] The only way to alleviate the plight of the latter was to improve their environment. "If we change the conditions of this man, his actions will be changed."[71] In searching for ways in which to change the conditions of the criminal, Ingersoll theorized that "the tyranny of governments, the injustice of nations, the fierceness of what is called the law" may produce "in the individual a tendency in the same direction."[72] If one takes the suggested negative inference, then one concludes that the positive force of the law can and should be used to humanize the criminal. But, this view of "Crimes Against Criminals" need not create a contradiction with other passages portraying laws as following, not leading, society. Ingersoll merely stated that the law should prohibit what society as a whole does not engage in; when attempting to direct the conduct of those who do not conform, the law should do so in a civilizing manner.

Ingersoll perceived most systems of criminal law as mirroring the rules of survival found in society, and, in fact, as magnifying their ill effects:

> In civilized countries the struggle for existence is severe — the competition far sharper than in savage lands. The consequence is that there are many failures. These failures lack, it may be, opportunity or brain or moral force or industry, or something without which, under the circumstances, success is impossible. Certain lines of conduct are called legal, and certain others criminal, and the men who fail in one line may be driven to the other.[73]

This was unnecessary; the law should not act to penalize an individual merely because he did not succeed according to society's rules. Another concept was needed to take the severity out of the operation of the criminal law, and to Ingersoll, that was justice.

In his closing address to the jury in the second Star Route trial, Ingersoll responded to a remark made by the opposition about his agnosticism: "It may be that I am guilty, according to Colonel Bliss, of sneering at everything that people hold sacred. But I do not sneer at justice. I believe that over all, justice sits the eternal queen, holding in her hand the scales in which are weighed the deeds of men."[74] Certainly we should not forget that this is the Great Agnostic, the platform orator, attempting to ingratiate himself with the jury. Yet, the notion of justice in the law was no less important to Ingersoll, especially if one considers the definition he gave for that concept. Above all, a just juror was a sympathetic juror, and a just law was made by those who thought beyond themselves when making the laws.[75] This yardstick for the propriety of a law smacks of Rousseau's distinction between the "general will" and the will of a majority, though Ingersoll would not have agreed with Rousseau that a law is not a law if not the product of the general will. Ingersoll believed, simply, that as man advances, he would become more sympathetic and therefore his laws would become more just. Of course, Ingersoll defined sympathy as the realization that other men were not responsible for their actions, and therefore laws would become more just because "science" would support his view of human behavior. But this does not undermine Ingersoll's reliance upon justice to render laws more realistic.

Justice also played an important part in influencing Ingersoll's thoughts on the proper source for law making. There were certain elements in his jurisprudential theories that would lead him to support the process of judicial decision-making found especially in the Amercian version of the common law. As the meaning of a term such as "justice" depends "upon the man who uses it — depends for the most part on the age in which he lives, the country in which

he is born,"[76] one would certainly expect Ingersoll to support the common law virtually without reservation, given its power to respond almost instantaneously to the problems of equity posed by a particular case. But he called the adoption of English common law by the colonies "unfortunate."[77] Admittedly, this was because it was "poisoned by kingly prerogative — by every form of oppression, by the spirit of caste, and permeated, saturated with the political heresy that the people received their rights, privileges and immunities from the crown."[78] Nonetheless, if Ingersoll really believed that the English-speaking or Anglo-Saxon people were "the only people now upon the globe with a genius for law,"[79] he would have had greater confidence in the ability of the American judiciary to rid the common law of its feudal tendencies.

Perhaps one may explain Ingersoll's lack of enthusiasm for the common law by his low opinion of the judiciary. He thought it important that the consciences of jurors not be trampled by tyrannical judges, for jurors often realized that a law did not conform to societal habits before the insulated judge was able to.[80] Judicial training made a judge no more intelligent and no more likely to render a just verdict; judges were, at best, equal to the ordinary citizen.[81] His opinion of the Illinois legislature as the most "scaly set of one-horse thieves and low lived political tricksters" ever assembled on the earth, aside, Ingersoll would likely have agreed that a legislature was more suited to the creation of law than was the bench.[82]

There is little doubt, though, that Ingersoll would not have prevented the judiciary from making law, even though it might have been more prone to establishing unjust laws than the general run of the population. After all, judges were governed by the same laws of behavior that controlled everyone else; if they made a mistake, they or their successors would be compelled by the inevitable march of progress and reason to correct it. Ingersoll, then, called it a necessity of government that there be a court of last resort, and "while all courts will more or less fail to do justice, still, the wit of man has, as yet, devised no better way."[83] If judges "make a decision that is wrong it will be attacked by reason, it will be attacked by argument, and in time it will be reversed . . . ."[84]

But, if a decision that is "wrong" may be rendered, does this mean that Ingersoll thought that there were occasions when "law" was "not law?" And, if this is the case, then what standards would be used to evaluate the law, and how should an individual behave toward law that was not law? If asked whether law might not be law, Ingersoll would have given a resounding "yes" and cited a supporting example from his own times. When the antebellum courts passed judgment on the issue of slavery, they made a pretense of doing justice.[85] As he said in a Decoration Day speech, "Constitution,

statutes and decisions, compromises, platforms and resolutions made, passed and ratified in the interest of slavery became mere legal lies, base and baseless."[86]

Ingersoll could say this because when, in a tribute to the German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, he praised the scientist for demonstrating the sublimest of truths, that the universe is governed by law, he of course referred to the law beyond that of cases and statutes.[87] "There is a higher law than men can make. The facts as they exist in this poor world — the absolute consequences of certain acts — they are above all. And this higher law is the breath of progress, the very outstretched wings of civilization, under which we enjoy the freedom we have."[88] Such a "higher law" by which the laws of men are to be judged, and which is discoverable by reason, clearly has its origins in the natural law jurisprudence found from Cicero through Aquinas, on to the present. Ingersoll would have denied it, but it is apparent that the only significant difference between Ingersoll and the natural law thinkers, at least on this issue, is that he refused to identify a supreme being as the source of the higher law.

Ingersoll's exhortation to the jury in the first Star Route trial, namely that one has "no right to violate one law to carry out another,"[89] would seem to be mere rhetoric. If a law ran contrary to reason and experience, and thus transgressed the higher law of progress, then it need not be obeyed. The Fugitive Slave Law was such a measure; Ingersoll did not explicitly claim a right to disobey this enactment, but he did not need to do so. The implication from several of his speeches is obvious. As he said, "Such laws are infamous beyond expression; one would suppose they had been passed by a Legislature, the lower house of which were hyenas, the upper house snakes and the executive a cannibal king."[90] Any man who "proves or apologizes for that infamy is a brute."[91]

The reason that Ingersoll may not have stated that the individual has the right to refuse to obey an "incorrect" law is that he feared the consequences of such a theory. If an enlightened abolitionist like himself had the power to ignore a law deemed unjust by him, then what would prevent the former rebel from failing to abide by the civil rights laws which he considered to be incorrect? Ingersoll could answer that only his side of the slavery issue was in accord with progress. Even assuming that Ingersoll's views on civil rights best fit with reason and science (this may be a large assumption, given that Ingersoll supported giving the freedmen a separate country),[92] this does not tell us who is qualified to make such a determination. Judges were no more qualified than others, and Ingersoll did not think highly of societies of the elite; he preferred that

knowledgeable people act in conjunction with the rest, rather than assuming some special authority for themselves.[93]

Perhaps the best way to resolve this inconsistency in Ingersoll's theory of law is, first, to admit that his "unstated premise" of the right to disobey the law was not fully developed, and that he would not have, if pressed, argued on its behalf; and second, to realize that law was a minor part of Ingersoll's universe. Some of the greatest questions of man's existence could not be resolved by law. He stated that he agreed with the patriots that "in the midst of armies law falls to the ground."[94] The struggle of capital and labor was another such issue, into which come

> . . . all the passions and prejudices — all the ignorance and intelligence — all the ends and ambitions — all the misery and happiness of human life — and all the inventions — all the skill and ingenuity — all the arts of buying and selling — all the theories of money — of taxation — of government — all these, and a thousand times more, enter into this question. Production, transportation, distribution, exchange. — These words suggest almost the infinite. — The trouble is in the nature of men — the nature of things. It is too deep for law.[95]

It does not seem an exaggeration to portray Robert G. Ingersoll's description of the law as a feeling that it is an entity which follows the development of society, one which is the product of individuals no more (and perhaps less) competent than the rest of society, one which could often work against justice, and one which could do nothing to solve the vital questions of history.

Yet, when Ingersoll stated that "the law is the supreme will of the supreme people, and we must obey it or go back to savagery and black night,"[96] he meant it. Herein lay the true function of law. Since society would progress and the law would reflect that development, the law would, of necessity, embody the wisdom of the ages, with some accounting for a time lag for ideas to be put into law. Law could contribute to the advancement of mankind by preventing or curbing the temporary lapses of a people from the path of progress. If one keeps the Civil War in mind, one will come to the conclusion that Ingersoll envisioned no small task for the law, and had no illusions about the progress needed to be made in that field.

III. Conclusion

Robert Ingersoll's theology was no doubt controversial and remained so long after his death. His politics and theory of government gave rise to much criticism from those of all political and religious persuasions. At a post-humous meeting in Ingersoll's honor, Clarence Darrow declared that "Ingersoll believed in liberty

so far as the church was concerned, but on political questions he was seemingly color blind. The older and more venerable a political superstition, the more he would cling to it."[97]

Ingersoll's political orthodoxy was also a topic of discussion in the *Freeman* for 1920 and 1921. In his "Reviewer's Note-book," Van Wyck Brooks attacked the characterization of Ingersoll as one who led his audiences to think for themselves:

> Ingersoll had his one queer, unorthodox streak — he had got his Calvinism turned inside out and attributed the original sin to the priests instead of to the people; but otherwise he seems to have been just an uncommonly vigorous, honest, kind-hearted, liberal-minded, intelligent and opinionated everyday citizen. His ways were the ways of the folk; and that being so, he could not arouse the individual because, in the very moment when he was venting his one heresy, he was venting all the other orthodoxies and putting the intellect back to sleep in the process of challenging it.[98]

Brooks saw nothing wrong with an individual regarding "his age and his country as approaching very closely the perfection of the ideal. Only, to do so, and to express one's satisfaction in flights of oratory, is not to make people think."[99] This attack on Ingersoll provoked some defenders of Ingersoll to write letters to the editor, but one letter-writer included the text of a letter by Ingersoll which he claimed proved beyond doubt Ingersoll's conservatism: "Obscenity is not a question of theology; it is a question of fact, and no matter what a man believes, upon any question — religious or irreligious — we all ought to have the same ideas concerning what is pure and clean."[100] Both Brooks and this letter-writer fault Ingersoll for granting too much deference to the popular will in most matters, for failure to stand by any progressive principles or tenets of political philosophy.

Criticisms from another perspective do not fault Ingersoll for retaining too many popular beliefs, but rather for placing too much stock in science. An author in the *American Rationalist* wrote that "Ingersoll was not a profound thinker. He was pre-eminently a destructive critic."[101] Though this author agreed with the free-thought aspects of Ingersoll's philosophy, he nevertheless believed that his over-enthusiastic acceptance of Darwinism rendered him "a museum piece for the nineteenth century."[102] Another commentator agreed that Ingersoll "must fail to exert the lasting influence which he coveted."[103] Like "a multitude of better informed men," Ingersoll was "taken in" by the "remarkable mechanistic boom" in the mid-nineteenth century.[104] Thus, Ingersoll's excessive emphasis on science would deny him a place among great philosophers "because sometimes explicitly, more often by implication, he denied the ele-

ment of purpose of life; and men will not suffer their lives to be put to intellectual confusion in this way."[105]

Both views of Ingersoll, as the orthodox agnostic and as the social Darwinist, present Ingersoll as too one-sided. He was too progressive on many issues, including civil rights and land reform, to be considered strictly conservative,[106] and his faith in science was too qualified to call him a pure social Darwinist. A better interpretation of Ingersoll, stressing the place of both science and sentiment, is found in a recent capsule description of his thought:

> Ingersoll's philosophy, a form of anticlerical rationalism, can be traced back through Thomas Paine to Voltaire and the French encyclopaedists. Paine's rejection of the Bible as revealed truth, his opposition to religious persecution and his republican faith in the perfectibility of man provided the framework for Ingersoll's philosophy. Like most nineteenth century rationalists, Ingersoll embraced science as the true guide for man. He argued that morality is secular, not religious, in origin, stressed the uncertainty of a future life and the importance of devoting energy to this life only. He exaggerated the narrowness of the religious mind, painted in gruesome colors the tortures and violences committed in the name of "The Prince of Peace," and sentimentalized the joys of "honest toil," the secular bliss of the hearth, conjugal love, and filial devotion.[107]

The dual nature of Ingersoll is even more apparent in his legal philosophy, especially when he is placed in perspective with other significant movements in American jurisprudence. Ingersoll was fairly unconcerned with drawing the proper boundaries for government and law; he felt that this would work itself out eventually. This distinguishes him from many other American legal thinkers in the early and mid-nineteenth century, including men like John Marshall. Most students of jurisprudence will rather find an analogy in the legal thought of the so-called "sociologists," prominent at the beginning of this century. Ingersoll would agree with the calls of these thinkers to make the law "scientific" by the use of sociological data, rather than the use of medieval concepts. He would accept their charge that judges and the judicial process were not well suited for the creation of legislation, and that legislative and administrative bodies should instead assume much of that role[108] Most of all, he would share the belief that the highest goal for the law was to reflect the progress made by society. The story of Bogigish of Ragusa, professor of law at the University of Odessa, found in Brandeis' 1916 essay, "The Living Law," would have fit just as well in an Ingersoll lecture:

> When Montenegro was admitted to the family of nations, its Prince concluded that, like other civilized countries, it must have a

> code of law. Bogigish's fame had reached Montenegro — for Ragusa is but a few miles distant. So the Prince begged the Czar of Russia to have the learned jurist prepare a code for Montenegro. The Czar granted the request; and Bogigish undertook the task. But instead of utilizing his great knowledge of laws to draft a code, he proceeded to Montenegro, and for two years literally made his home with the people, — studying everywhere their customs, their practices, their needs, their beliefs, their points of view. Then he embodied in law the life which the Montenegrins lived. They respected that law; because it expressed the will of the people.[109]

However, it would be presumptuous to classify Ingersoll as an early sociological jurisprudent, because he did not share their faith in the ability of the law to lead society, or to solve societal problems. Many issues were simply beyond the reach of law, and in this respect Ingersoll might have been expected to endorse some of the "judicial nihilism" of Jerome Frank.[110] This is an analogy which must be mentioned with great care; Ingersoll would not have agreed with Frank's characterization of the law as merely that which solved a specific dispute before a tribunal, and no more. Law did have a function for Ingersoll, even if it were only to prevent human "backsliding" from hindering the onward march of progress.

Robert G. Ingersoll's jurisprudential thought reveals a distrust of human nature probably not apparent to those who first heard his lectures. Any good laws made by man were created according to the laws of progress; any bad laws would be corrected according to progress. The laws that were on the books should operate to keep man in step with progress. Admittedly, human failures were produced by natural conditions, but even if man is completely controlled by outside events, there should be nothing to prevent the occasional exceptional man from using the law to reform society. Ingersoll did not admit this possibility, both because law could have little effect on the reform of society, and because one could not expect anyone to be able to predict the course of progress (probably because he himself could not do so).

The legal thought of Ingersoll also reveals doubts. He was in doubt about the propriety of unrestricted majoritarian rule, about the source of the "rights" of man, about the existence of a right to civil disobedience, and about the path that would be taken by man, if directed by progress. One cannot accuse him of doubting that man will advance; the role that he envisioned for law was one of a prop for science and progress — a minor prop, but a necessary one.

NOTES

[1]Tappan Gregory, "The Fiber of Character," *Illinois Bar Journal*, 37 (Oct., 1948), 56; George F. Paul, "Ingersoll's Moment of Inspiration," *Green Bag*, 26 (1914), 523.

[2]Orvin Larson, *American Infidel: Robert G. Ingersoll* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1962), p. 278.

[3]Clarence Darrow, *The Story of My Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), p. 381.

[4]Larson, p. 19.

[5]Robert G. Ingersoll to John Ingersoll, 25 June 1857, as quoted in *The Life and Letters of Robert G. Ingersoll,* ed. Eva Ingersoll Wakefield (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), p. 108.

[6]Robert G. Ingersoll to John Ingersoll, 6 May 1858, as quoted in *Life and Letters,* p. 110.

[7]Robert G. Ingersoll to John Ingersoll, 26 Feb. 1858, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 109.

[8]Clarence H. Cramer, "Robert Green Ingersoll," *Papers in Illinois History,* 4 (1940), 66.

[9]"Speech at Cincinnati," *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll*, ed. C.P. Farrell (New York: Dresden Publishing Co., 1912), IX, 59.

[10]Robert G. Ingersoll to Ebon Clark Ingersoll, 25 June 1868, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 154.

[11]Larson, p. 137.

[12]Ibid., p. 211.

[13]Robert G. Ingersoll to Shepard Brown, 10 Oct. 1890, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 195.

[14]"Eight to Seven Address," *Works*, IX, 227.

[15]"Crimes Against Criminals," *Works*, XI, 143.

[16]"Why I am an Agnostic," *Works*, IV, 54.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., p. 55.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Larson, p. 237; "Why I am an Agnostic," *Works*, IV, 55.

[21]"Closing Address to the Jury in the First Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 131; "Opening Address to the Jury in the Second Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 189.

[22]"What Would You Substitute for the Bible as a Moral Guide?" *Works*, XI, 544; Robert G. Ingersoll to Horace Traubel, 31 July 1893, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 658.

[23]"Why I am an Agnostic," *Works*, IV, 55.

[24]"Trial of C.B. Reynolds for Blasphemy — Address to the Jury," *Works*, XI, 57.

[25]"Progress," *Works*, IX, 448.

[26]"What is Religion?" *Works*, IX, 505-06; "Crimes Against Criminals," *Works*, XI, 145; "A Lay Sermon," *Works*, IV, 212-13.

[27]"Why I am an Agnostic," *Works*, IV, 63.

[28]"Address to the Jury in the Munn Trial," *Works*, X, 10.

[29]"Closing Address to the Jury in the Second Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 486.

[30]"Decoration Day Oration," *Works*, IX, 445.

[31]"Progress," *Works*, IV, 423.

[32]"An Address to the Colored People," *Works*, IX, 8.

[33]Ibid.

[34]"Art and Morality," *Works*, XI, 203.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Robert G. Ingersoll to Horace Traubel, 31 July 1893, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 658.

[38]"Centennial Oration," *Works*, IX, 89-90.

[39]"New York Speech," *Works*, IX, 130.

[40]Robert G. Ingersoll to Horace Traubel, 31 July 1893, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 658.

[41]"Indianapolis Speech," *Works*, IX, 187.

[42]"Progress," *Works*, IV, 476.

[43]Robert G. Ingersoll to Horace Traubel, 31 July 1893, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 658.

[44]Robert G. Ingersoll to Julia C. Franklin, 13 July 1887, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 652.

[45]Robert G. Ingersoll to Horace Traubel, 31 July 1893, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 659.

[46]"Closing Address to the Jury in the Second Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 517.

[47]Robert G. Ingersoll to Horace Traubel, 17 Aug. 1893, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 660.

[48]"Civil Rights," *Works*, XI, 44-45.

[49]"Crimes Against Criminals," *Works*, XI, 149.

[50]"Some Interrogation Points," *Works*, XI, 190.

[51]"Speech at Indianapolis," *Works*, IX, 48.

[52]"God in the Constitution," *Works*, XI, 132; Robert G. Ingersoll to Ebon Clark Ingersoll, 7 June 1868, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, pp. 151-52.

[53]"God in the Constitution," *Works*, XI, 131.

[54]"Civil Rights," *Works*, XI, 43.

[55]Ibid.

[56]"Centennial Oration," *Works*, IX, 87.

[57]"Ratification Speech," *Works*, IX, 484-85.

[58]"New York Speech," *Works*, IX, 150; "Closing Address to the Jury in the Second Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 265.

[59]"God in the Constitution," *Works*, XI, 124.

[60]Robert G. Ingersoll to Charles K. Ladd, 5 Nov. 1887, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, pp. 186-87; Robert G. Ingersoll to Shepard Brown, 10 Oct. 1890, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 195.

[61]Larson, p. 98.

[62]Robert G. Ingersoll to John Ingersoll, 17 Mar. 1865, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 137.

[63]Robert G. Ingersoll to Ebon Clark Ingersoll, 29 Apr. 1868, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 150.

[64]"Bangor Speech," *Works*, IX, 114.

[65]Robert G. Ingersoll to Matt H. Carpenter, 10 Apr. 1878, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 239.

[66]"Decoration Day Oration," *Works*, IX, 439.

[67]"Civil Rights," *Works*, XI, 44.

[68]"Some Interrogation Points," *Works*, XI, 190.

[69]Ibid.

[70]"Crimes Against Criminals," *Works*, XI, 147.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Ibid., p. 148.

[73]Ibid., p. 147.

[74]"Closing Address to the Jury in the Second Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 459.

[75]"Address to the Jury in the Munn Trial," *Works*, X, 9.

[78]"The Rev. Dr. Newton's Sermon on a New Religion," *Works*, XI, 425.

[77]"Civil Rights," *Works*, XI, 6.

[78]Ibid.

[79]"Opening Address to the Jury in the Second Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 145.

[80]"Closing Address to the Jury in the First Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 98-99.

[81]"Civil Rights," *Works*, XI, 4.

[82]Robert G. Ingersoll to John Ingersoll, 17 Mar. 1865, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 137.

[83]"Civil Rights," *Works*, XI, 4.

[84]"The Chicago and New York Gold Speech," *Works*, XI, 572.

[85]"New York Speech," *Works*, IX, 136.

[86]"Decoration Day Oration," *Works*, IX, 430.

[87]Larson, p. 100.

[88]"Trial of C.B. Reynolds for Blasphemy — Address to the Jury," *Works*, XI, 69.

[89]"Closing Address to the Jury in the First Star Route Trial," *Works*, X, 42.

[90]"New York Speech," *Works*, IX, 134.

[91]Larson, p. 46.

[92]Ibid., p. 71.

[93]Robert G. Ingersoll to Julia C. Franklin, 13 July 1887, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 652.

[94]"Speech at Indianapolis," *Works*, IX, 35.

[95]Robert G. Ingersoll to Frank Gilbert, 24 July 1894, as quoted in *Life and Letters*, p. 625.

[96]Larson, p. 259.

[97]Ibid., p. 279.

[98]"A Reviewer's Note-book," *Freeman*, 8 Dec. 1920, p. 311.

[99]Ibid.

[100]Theodore Schroeder, Letter to the Editor, *Freeman*, 2 Feb. 1921, p. 498.

[101]George Godwin, "Ingersoll: The Great Agnostic," *American Rationalist*, 4 (July-Aug., 1959), 12.

[102]Ibid., p. 13.

[103]Edward M. Chapman, "Robert G. Ingersoll, Theologian," *Forum*, 48 (1912), 352.

[104]Ibid., p. 351.

[105]Ibid., p. 352.

[106]Larson, p. 279.

[107]Thomas D. Schwartz, "Mark Twain and Robert Ingersoll: The Freethought Connection," *American Literature*, 48 (1976), 183.

[108]Roscoe Pound, "Mechanical Jurisprudence," *Columbia Law Review*, 8 (1908), 605.

[109]Louis D. Brandeis, "The Living Law," *Illinois Law Review*, 10 (1916), 470-71.

[110]Jerome Frank, *Law and the Modern Mind* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1949).

QUAD-CITIES WRITERS: A GROUP PORTRAIT

William Roba

Literary culture in the Quad-Cities began with the appearance of original poems and stories in local newspapers during the 1840s, but by 1910 the Tri-Cities (Rock Island, Moline, and Davenport) had become nationally recognized as a center of literary activity. Although such figures as Alice French, Susan Glaspell, Floyd Dell, and George Cram Cook have received significant attention from literary scholars, no one has discussed the literary history of the Quad-Cities. The present study is an overview of Quad-Cities writers which reveals the influence of locale, the importance of journalism, and the significance of social commentary in the literary contribution of these communities on the Mississippi River.

Some of the local writers are excluded. Two who began writing after living in the Quad-Cities but whose subsequent writing concentrated on non-regional topics, were Charles Edward Russell (1860-1940) and Lilian Blanche Fearing (1863-1901).[1] Others who lived there earned, and deserved, only local recognition of their efforts — writers such as Mary E. Mead, a pioneer whose poetry appeared in the newspapers; Lillie Bradford, whose *Soul Garden* (1911) was another example of privately printed poetry, and Harry Downer, a journalist whose compilation of local history in 1910 endeared him to Quad-Cities residents.[2]

There were three originators of the Quad-Cities literary tradition, and they arrived during the 1850s. The first was Hiram A. Reid (1834-1895), a newspaperman who became Iowa's first poet. He moved to Davenport from Ohio in 1856, having been promised a job for a weekly newspaper, the *Courier*.[3] Unfortunately, the newspaper suspended operation a few months after he started, forcing him to open a temperance saloon that dispensed ice cream, candy and cool drinks.[4] Undaunted in his writing, Reid soon produced the first book of poetry in the state of Iowa: *The Heart-Lace*. He also wrote satire for *The Chip-Basket*, which folded after a few months. Before moving on to Iowa City, and eventually Pasadena, California, Reid completed *Harp of the West* in 1858. In an advertisement, he proposed "to publish this volume by subscription, as a means of assisting me in completing my education for the Liberal Christian

Ministry." And he asserted that "My published volumes of verse hitherto, (four in number), were each the children of special circumstances — mere localisms . . . ."[5] Reid used poetry to describe the new city life on the frontier and the latest developments in technology. One of his poems celebrates the coming of the Rock Island, Chicago and Pacific Railroad to the metropolitan area on the river:

> With mighty snort the dragon loud responds,
> And shakes his heavy volumed mane aloft —
> Impatient fretting all his massive frame,
> In huge deposit of sinews iron-bound,
> And inward energies Herculean!
> He moves with giant pomp, in huge display.
> Of God like power trained to God like rise,
> Quadruple wings, forge-plated round, and ribbed
> For Godlike reaches of redolent flight.[6]

Reid focused on original subject matter of the Iowa frontier, but his verse was ponderous and his lyrics imitative of more popular poets in the East.

The second newspaperman who helped to originate a literary tradition for the Quad-Cities wrote a substantial history. Franc B. Wilkie (1832-1892) had gone to Union College in Schnectady, New York, while working as a reporter. A friend described the opportunities in the Quad-Cities, and Wilkie arrived in 1856 to start work as co-publisher of the Davenport *News*. It folded within a year, forcing Wilkie to write an accurate and well-written account of the city's first thirty years. He included a chapter on the literary achievements of the settlers, spot-lighting the poetry of Mary Mead. Before moving to Dubuque, Wilkie had set a standard for later writers. An example of his style was his evocation of the view first seen by the early settlers. Davenport appeared as "a waving, irregular, semi-circle of bluffs, enclosing an ampitheater of some hundreds of yards in breadth, and two miles in length. The floor or 'bottom' of this amphitheater, sloped gently from the water to the foot of the bluffs . . ."[7] Wilkie succeeded in creating a historical context for Quad-Cities literature, and later historians accepted his premises about the cultural influence of the area upon writers.

The third newspaperman to produce literary creations stayed in Davenport. Edward Russell (1830-1892) was originally from England, but he moved to Le Claire, Iowa, twenty miles upstream in the 1850s. He became a fanatic, a famous abolitionist who wrote the amendment to the Iowa Constitution allowing blacks to vote. As his son scholar has said, "He became widely known, scorned and hated as the 'nigger stealer' editor, the pernicious agitator and enemy of

Edward Russell.

business."[8] After moving to Davenport in 1860, he became editor of the *Gazette*, augmenting his income as a clerk in the post office while his brothers assisted at the newspaper. During the winter of 1879 he started publishing a book-length novel which ran to 31 installments, from 4 December 1878 to 2 July 1879. Pseudonyms were common, and he used the pen name of "Carl Bedford." *Janet, or Eastward and Westward* was refreshingly different in its detailing of English immigrants to the West. Unlike the sentimental and moralistic fiction of the day, it contained many realistic descriptions of immigration, which paralleled the authors own experiences in coming from London as a young man.

Russell's most enduring contribution was the discovery of literary talent in the writing of a young Davenporter. Alice French was the first Iowan to gain national attention for her fiction. Her first short story appeared in Russell's newspaper in 1871, under the pseudonym "Frances Essex." It was one of several early stories that used realistic details from the Quad-Cities. Russell gave her opportunities to master the literary conventions of the period and to create an image of river town life in the late nineteenth century: a place where the traditional values of fair play, hard work, and success were superimposed upon realistic details of urban life, such as striking industrial workers, German immigrants, and applied technology.

French was one of the first writers to focus on a western community in fiction, a town that was larger than a village yet smaller than a city. In *Stories of a Western Town* (1897) she described a river town in the West where "the lines of low wooden houses" blended with "big brick shops with their arched windows and terra-cotta ornaments that showed the ambitious architecture of a growing Western town, past these into mills and factories and smoke-stained chimneys."[9] She made it clear that she had the Tri-City area in mind as she chose her words: "the wayfarer may catch bird's-eye glimpses of the city, the vast river that the Iowans love, and the three bridges tying the three towns to the island arsenal."[10] Local readers recognized the settings and situations for her fictional tales of nostalgia, while a national audience accepted the widespread existence of "Western towns."

By 1905 Alice French expanded her concept into a fictional region around Fairport. This was a major advance over her earlier devices because the name itself conveyed the sense of "fairness" in ethical terms, besides the "fair" port in a stormy sea where Americans could find reassuring shelter amidst change. In this idealized place on the river, "the old settlers were a power, . . . true brotherly love prevailed among men; and the river was the highway of commerce. Despite the pioneers' lamentations, Fairport was a kindly town, where every one went to the High School before his lot in life gave

him college or work for his daily bread; and old acquaintance was not forgot." An upper class viewpoint is presented, as the references to "every one" going to high school or later finding work reveal. An influential critic, William Morton Payne of the *Dial*, complimented her on describing labor strife as a civil war, but hinted that occasionally "the ethical balance seems to incline a trifle too much in the direction of a false sentimentalism."[12]

As the first recognized Quad-Cities author, Alice French has been hailed as the originator of a local school of writers around the turn of the century. This is the estimation of Joseph Wall in his recent history of Iowa: "The nearest approach to a cultural center the state had in the late 19th century was Davenport, and this was due not only to its river location but also to the remarkable influence of one woman, Alice French, whose novels, written under the name of Octave Thanet, are largely forgotten today, but whose personal impact upon the culture of her time far exceeded in importance her own skill as a creative writer."[13]

Another newspaperman who stopped off in Davenport before moving on helped two younger writers get started. Charles Banks (1850-1934) stayed for two years as editor of the *Republican*, but managed to found the Tri-City Press Club and *The Weekly Outlook*. By 1898 he had left to become a war correspondent. The next year he co-authored with George Cram Cook (1873-1924), a play glorifying the Civil War battle between the Monitor and Merrimac.[14]

The Cook family had been among the first settlers of Davenport, prominent and influential. Cook's father was an attorney for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad who enjoyed summer vacations with his family at Cape Cod. George graduated from Harvard in 1893, along with Robert French, brother of Alice French. After graduate study at the University of Heidelberg, Cook taught English at the University of Iowa for three years.

The Spanish-American War changed his life. He had joined a reserve unit in Davenport which sponsored military balls and drinking contests before mobilization on 23 April 1898. He spent the next few months in Cuba Libre, Florida before eventually accepting a position at Stanford University. When he returned to the Quad-Cities in June, 1903, Cook embraced the life of a bohemian writer. During the next two years of non-employment, he lived on the family estate in Buffalo, nine miles south of Davenport. He wrote poetry, became converted to the Socialist ideology, and expressed that view in various essays.

A good example of Cook's poetry, is this posthumously printed example, which describes the Mississippi River:

George Cram Cook, in the shepherd's costume he wore in Greece during the early 1920's.

Southward from my window I see the hills of Illinois.
The river spreads between — a frozen tumult of jagged blocks of ice.
The slopes of the hills rise sunlit, covered with snow,
The crests of the hills are black with woods;
The valleys are black with the shadow of the hills.

Last week the ice-floes formed; the water crystalized.
Sheets of ice slid, ground, crunched, cracked, split into fragments that twisted, sank, thrust into the air, and fell piling one upon another,
Pushed gulfward by the unswerving weight of the Mississippi.
For weeks that water will slide down its bed of salt and sand and gravel in order to be at peace in the sea — a thousand feet nearer the center of the earth.[15]

Although the choice of a regional subject was rare for Cook, his concerns were eclectic. Perhaps the straightforward approach in this description of the winter river hides the sound pattern. As in other poems, Cook used free verse. In this case, the irregular movement of the iced-over river is expressed in the rough and rushing meter. In general, Cook's poetry is well worth reading.

Cook's social criticism blossomed in his second novel, *The Chasm* (1911), which is set in Moline and Russia. G. Thomas Tanselle has concluded that "it is difficult to conceive of the book as a novel, for it seems to have been written solely to convey certain socialist ideas. No opportunity is overlooked for inserting a socialistic reference or parallel."[16] Thematically, the book is a logical extension of French's Fairport. Instead of the traditional values of work and honesty, Cook reverses the conclusions and shows how in the fictionalized portrayal of Moline, the workers are exploited. Instead of an idealized place of insecurity, the river town had become for Cook a grinding place of poverty, and a community that is spiritually bankrupt.

Susan Glaspell followed a different path than Cook. Although her ancestors settled in Davenport in the 1830s, at the same time that the Cook family arrived, Glaspell graduated from Davenport High School in 1894 and worked for a living. She was a reporter for the Davenport *Republican* while acting as society editor for publisher Charles E. Banks. She learned to write for the subscribers in her weekly column of society news, and she also wrote a sentimental Christmas story.[17] Banks guided her early writing efforts.

Her approach to a career in writing was to first work for a newspaper before going to college. She entered Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1897, and after obtaining a Ph.B. degree, accepted a position on the Des Moines *Daily News*. Within a year she developed her own column by writing "to the feminine readers who wanted chatty personal observations rather than factual reports."[18] In 1902 she continued her education with a year of graduate work at the

University of Chicago. After returning to Davenport, she came under the influence of Alice French and her imaginary region. In 1904 Glaspell's "Man of Flesh and Blood" started a series of twenty-six stories about Freeport, an imaginary town directly modeled on French's creation. In Glaspell's imaginary region, "love and money are the most desirable things in the world, but the greater of these is love. Although social classes exist, class boundaries may be crossed by deserving individuals. Evil is usually overcome by good; suffering builds character."[19] Glaspell included realistic details of Davenport for the setting of her popular short stories, thereby developing the concept of an imaginary place.

An example of the series is "Manager of the Crystal Sulphur Springs."[20] The content of the story is heavily sentimental, with a tragic tale of Bert Groves living at the county home, on land which had originally been the site for his bankrupt health spa. In the story, he lives in world of traditional ethics, the Fairport world of Alice French. The descriptions of locale are occasionally based upon Davenport, but the Rock Island Line train station was the basis for passages in the story.

A close friend and literary colleague of Cook and Glaspell was ten years younger. Floyd Dell moved to Davenport in 1903 with his family, and after a year of high school, Dell dropped out of school, eventually becoming a reporter for the Davenport *Democrat* and, later, the *Times*. In 1905 he started publishing the *Tri-City Workers Magazine*. He wrote many of the articles, which analyzed modern industry from a socialist perspective. His focus included a local candy factory, department store, button factory, and cigar works. Other articles exposed the capitalist economics behind diphtheria epidemics, the motivations leading up to the firing of a school teacher, and the profit motive behind Brick Munro's Dance Hall in the "red light district" near the Arsenal Island bridge.

Twelve years after leaving Davenport, Dell returned to the concept of the imaginary region invented by Alice French with his first novel. *Moon-Calf* (1920) describes his own adolescent years in a river town very much like Davenport. It is largely autobiographical, with the protagonist, Felix Fay, growing up in Adams County, Illinois and living for a time in Quincy. In one conversation, Felix reflects on the city he lived in (really Davenport) and thinks that it really is cosmopolitan, "not like other towns . . . . No, it had a history of its own — from the first it had been a rebellious place. It had been founded so, by men who were different from others — or it was pleasant to think so."[21] The novel is in the Fairport tradition, but is complex in a way that the local fiction of French or Glaspell is not. Its purpose is to portray self-discovery and coming-of-age in the Middle West. *Moon-Calf* is by far Dell's best novel.

A friend of Dell's and fellow newspaperman took his time about following the French tradition. Harry Hansen (1884-1977) grew up in the German immigrant society of Davenport. He worked his way through high school, graduating in January so he could work full-time for a newspaper. Eventually he also moved to Chicago, to become literary editor of the *Daily News* in the early 1920s. A decade later he wrote a regional novel about Davenport which stressed many topics untouched by earlier writers. In his fictional portrayal of a river town, Hansen included scenes of violence connected with the steamboat, the very different life of German-American residents, and the musical accomplishments of the urban area in the 1890s. The first two-thirds of *Your Life Lies Before You* remain the fullest expression of the Fairport tradition. The community is portrayed as a place of moral ambiguity and widespread ambition.[22]

Your Life Lies Before You is Hansen's only novel. It describes the early manhood of David Kinsman and his newspaper work in a river town. Part of his job was interviewing passengers who arrived on the weekly steamboat. For young Kinsman, the steamboat was something "both mysterious and beautiful," a messenger from other worlds.[23] As the youth listens to calliope music while on a moonlight excursion with his girl friend, Hansen intrudes into the starlit scene: "People not only grow sentimental but melancholy on river journeys. When banter fails they turn to song, and there is something about the monotonous swish of the water against the sides of the boat, and the quiet of the river night, that makes them sing all the sad strains in American balladry."[24]

Hansen develops the theme of responsibility in the opening section of the novel. In a river town, the underside of sordid violence erupts into the respectable, peaceful vista of the steamboat's upper deck. Unlike the hero of Dell's Fairport novel, who is disgusted by the emotional non-involvement of newspaper work, Hansen's hero learns to live with it. As the steamboat "St. Charles" arrives one afternoon, David Kinsman is an eyewitness to the murder of two Indians by a crew member.[25] He learns about an obscure "law of the river" which allows the captain to support the first mate's murder in broad daylight. Kinsman's reaction is to get a "scoop" for his paper. Instead of compassion for the victims, or shock at the public acceptance of violence, Kinsman wants the individual recognition of getting the story first.

Hansen's novel is an elegiac reworking of the Fairport concept, and it remains the most realistic treatment of the Quad-Cities in fiction. The novel is still worth reading, and it parallels Dell's novel. Both *Moon-Calf* and *Your Life Lies Before You* analytically describe the personal development of sensitive, troubled youths who eventually leave for Chicago. The environmental forces that influence

the two river town heros are very much the same, but personal choices lead to very different careers and futures for Fay and Kinsman.

Another Davenport writer who gained considerable recognition was Arthur Davison Ficke (1883-1945). He graduated from Harvard in 1904 and eventually joined his father's law firm in Davenport after being admitted to the bar. However, he had been encouraged by Alice French to pursue a career in writing.[26] The result was a decade-long balancing act between poetry and the law. By 1916 he had become frustrated by the social demands of conformity in Davenport. Together with a friend, Witter Bynner, he concocted a spurious poetry movement called Spectricism. This hoax was helped along by consuming of Scotch as the two produced such lines as "the liquor of her laughter and the lacquer of her limbs."[27] Within a year, the hoax had been revealed.

Ficke entered the army. Like so many other Americans, he was disillusioned by World War I. A poem of that time, "Paris 1917," expresses the poet's view of the war years:

Damp leaves fall
Where the gravel paths are shining; the pavements are mirrors
Streaked with sudden swathes of light, under skies
As grey and lightless as forest-smoke. At dawn
The streets and vistas and arches slowly unfold
Out of clinging vapors of darkness; and like a city
Under the sea, are cloudy and fabulous
As an Atlantis.

And the middle-day is grey
With light that comes from nowhere, that is thick ether
Spread through space in even texture.

Grey
Rise the dark towers of Notre Dame; grey
The last few southward-flying swallows
Sweep past.

And evening comes, as with wide wings
Of greyness folding over the city. There burns
No sunset, not one gleam of golden light
To break the cold west. Night is only greyness
Grown old. Night — then the perfect silence of greyness —
Sleep.[28]

Unlike his more typical sonnets, this poem examines the mood of emotional numbness. The comparison of Paris to Atlantis, and the description of a foggy morning, suggest the mythical dream of a utopia that sunk under the seas, just as the city of gaiety had become forlorn and lost for Ficke. The variations on grey are overpowering in a cumulative way: forest smoke, mid-day, Notre Dame,

swallows, evening and night, "only greyness grown old." Ficke's poetry is a forgotten achievement that deserves a contemporary readership.

One of his proteges participated in the Spectra hoax and used the pseudonym "Elijah Hay." Marjorie Allen Seiffert (1885-1971) grew up in Moline before marrying a wealthy heir to a Davenport lumber company. Her parents lived in a pseudo-Tudor mansion called "Allendale" and participated in the socially elite life of the metropolitan area. Seiffert started writing in 1912 when Ficke suggested that she specialize in the lyrics which she had written for some songs.[29] She later became a strong supporter of the Poetry Association of America and was part of the "Illini Poetry" group of writers after her first public reading in Chicago in 1916.[30]

In her five published volumes of verse, many lyrics expressed her attitude towards the seasons. The following excerpt from "April Storm" captures her uncanny sense of the moment:

> Nothing is like the wind that shook my door
> That night, or like the scratching of the rain
> Against the screen, or the sound of the branch that tore
> Its young green leaves, or the sobbing of the drain.
> Your plea still echoed in my ears; I heard
> Wind, and rain, and April branches beating
> Against the walls that housed me, and lay unstirred;
> No answer rose in me and gave them greeting.
> And so it was I knew the quiet room
> Was empty . . . empty of *me*. A sudden fear
> Kept my closed eyelids closed against the gloom
> In dreadful loneliness. Nothing was here.
> Spring raged outside, but ghostly in my bed
> A dead self lay and knew itself for dead.[31]

Although classified as a "woman poet," Seiffert became famous for her ability to express psychological states in a lyrical way. The "dead self" at the end of the poem is not only the narrator of the event, the spring storm, but also the denier of "your plea." Seiffert's five volumes of poetry often provide psychological insights into exotic subjects, such as medieval kings and Russian aristocrats. But throughout her published works, there is also a recurring use of midwestern locales and events.

A Rock Island writer, a contemporary of Seiffert, chose to specialize in juvenile fiction. Cornelia Lynde Meigs (1885-1973) was born into a large family and had five sisters. Her father was a civil engineer for the Rock Island District, Corps of Engineers. She graduated from Bryn Mawr in 1906 and then moved back to live with her father until his death in 1931.[32] During that period, she initiated a new era of historical fiction for children when her first novel, *Master Simon's Story*, appeared in 1916.[33] Rock Island County was the set-

Alice French. Courtesy of Iowa State Department of History and Archives.

ting for one of her novels, *As the Crow Flies* (1927). In a half century of writing, she completed more than forty books, primarily intended for children.

The final writer to be considered carried the regional traditions of the Quad-Cities into mystery story. Mary Plum (1892-1962) wrote eight mysteries about Chicago, Michigan, and a Middle Western town called "Portville." The last location was the setting for *Susanna, Don't you Cry!* (1946), a Crime Club selection. The town is a thinly disguised version of Davenport, as revealed in the first paragraph, which refers to a local cigar store:

> Early June and already hot enough for the annual demonstration of frying eggs on a sunny sidewalk! Old stuff, kid stuff, but as perennial as dandelions. In front of Hickey Brothers corner cigar store a local citizen snapped shut his watch and told the visiting salesman in prideful tones, 'Eleven thirty seven. Less than three minutes and plenty frizzled at the edges. Pretty warm, eh, brother?[34]

The story of Susan Marquette, who identifies the killer, saves her uncle's hotel, and discovers some local graft, is related to the Alice French version of Fairport.

From a biographical standpoint, there are two factors that characterize many of the Quad-Cities writers, aside from their common location. First, several supported themselves by working for newspapers. Of the thirteen writers discussed in this essay, six were reporters while living in Davenport: Reid, Wilkie, Russell, Banks, Dell and Hansen. Undoubtedly, their experience in writing on a daily basis was helpful, and their local focus made the Quad-Cities a potential source for their literary work. But only Dell and Hansen transformed their journalistic experiences into novels about the area.

Another factor was the freedom that independent wealth gave to several other writers. Alice French was the first local author of note who did not need to be involved in journalism in order to make a living. Cook and Glaspell were able to take their time in choosing careers (each dabbled in journalism for short periods of time, Glaspell in Des Moines and Cook in Chicago), without the necessity of having a job. Ficke enjoyed the liberality of his father as he graduated from college and finally became a lawyer, but he was able to retire at the age of thirty seven. Marjorie Allen Seiffert was married to a rich man who supported her, and so was Mary Plum.

Of greater importance is the continuity of the Fairport concept in novels, short stories, and plays. Alice French developed the idea during her twenty years of writing about the "western town," and then five younger Quad-Cities writers used that concept in their work. For Glaspell and Plum, the Fairport tradition was a ready-made one for their formulaic fiction. For three other writers, the in-

herent assumptions of the "fair port" spawned other considerations. In the spectrum of fictional treatments, Cook took the strongest stand in denying the idyllic concept. His fictional river town is a place where competition leads to suffering, and opportunity is denied to almost everyone. Hansen added the elements of violence and moral ambiguity, aspects ignored in the writing of Alice French. Dell personalized the concept, making the river town a world of moral choices confronting his autobiographical protagonist. Whereas French originally intended simply to describe the locale, the "local color" of the river valley, in her work, in the writing of Dell, Glaspell, Hansen, and Plum the town became a metaphor for the American experience — a metaphor that expressed the regionalism of the Quad Cities tradition.

NOTES

[1]Frank Paluka, *Iowa Authors; a Bio-Bibliography of Sixty Native Writers* (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1966), p. 83; Clarence Andrews, *Chicago in Story; A Literary History* (Iowa City: Midwest Heritage Publishing Company, 1982), p. 65.

[2]Davenport *Democrat*, 5 April 1944, p. 3.

[3]Clarence Andrews, *A Literary History of Iowa* (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1972), p. 6.

[4]*1858 Twin Cities Directory* (Davenport: Lane, Luse, 1858), pp. 23, 132.

[5]Davenport *News*, 15 September 1858, p. 3.

[6]*Harp of the West* (Davenport: Lane, Luse, 1858), p. 7.

[7]Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport, Past and Present* (Davenport: Lane, Luse, 1856), p. 11.

[8]Charles Edward Russell, *Pioneer Editor in Early Iowa* (Washington: Ransdale Press, 1941), p. 20.

[9]*Stories of a Western Town* (New York: Scribner's, 1897), pp. 36-37.

[10]Ibid., p. 43.

[11]*The Man of the Hour* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1905), p. 3.

[12]William Morton Payne, "Recent Fiction," *Dial*, 16 Nov. 1905, p. 308.

[13]Joseph Frazier Wall, *Iowa: A Bicentennial History* (Nashville: American Association of State and Local History, 1978), pp. 197-198.

[14]The play, "In Hampton Roads," was a regionally acclaimed success when put on by semi-professional players at the Burtis Opera House in DAvenport in 1899.

[15]*Greek Coins* (New York: George B. Doran, 1925), p. 62.

[16]"George Cram Cook and the Poetry of Living, with a Checklist," *Books at Iowa*, no. 24 (April 1976), p. 9.

[17]Marcia Noe, "A Critical Biography of Susan Glaspell," Diss. University of Iowa, 1976, pp. 15-18.

[18]Arthur Waterman, *Susan Glaspell* (New York: Twayne, 1966), p. 20.

[19]Ibid., p. 21.

[20]*Harper's*, (July, 1915), 176-77.

[21]*Moon-Calf* (New York: Knopf, 1920), p. 394.

[22]William Roba, "Harry Hansen's Literary Career," *Books at Iowa*, no. 35 (November, 1981), pp. 19-22.

[23]Harry Hansen, *Your Life Lies Before You* (New York: Harcourt, 1035), p. 12.

[24]Ibid., p. 169.

[25]Ibid., p. 31.

[26]Andrews, *Iowa*, p. 113.

[27]Witter Bynner, "Ave Atque Vale," *Poetry* 68, no. 1 (April 1946), p. 58.

[28]*Mountain Against Mountain* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1929), p. 13.

[29]Davenport *Times*, ? December 1934. Davenport Public Library newspaper clipping.

[30]Wilbur Gaffney, "Spectra and Some Echoes," *Prairie Schooner*, 36 (Spring, 1962), pp. 59-60.

[31]*King With Three Faces* (New York: Scribner's, 1929), p. 53.

[32]Rock Island *Argus*, 13 August 1937, p. 12.

[33]Ruth Vigners, et. al., *A Critical History of Children's Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), p. 432.

[34]*Susanna, Don't You Cry!* (New York: Doubleday, 1946), p. 1.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Historical Publications: Bibliographies of Pike and Calhoun Counties

The following bibliographies continue the series started in the Spring of 1981. Thus far, Fulton, Mercer and Henderson counties have been featured. Entries consist of separately published monographs, and typescripts which were duplicated for limited private distribution. The bibliographies do not include periodical or newspaper articles, scrapbooks, manuscripts, photographs, or genealogical studies on individual families.

Indexes to more important articles are maintained in the Illinois Historical Survey at the University of Illinois and at the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield. The Special Collections unit of the Western Illinois University Library maintains a vertical file on both counties and has a sizeable collection of photographs and a number of manuscripts from Pike county. The unit is also the location of the Illinois Regional Archives Depository Center which houses Western Illinois local government records.

Two local historicans have been particularly helpful in the compilation of these bibliographies. James Sanderson of Pittsfield has helped with the Pike County bibliography and George Carpenter of Hardin has been helpful with Calhoun County. My sincere thanks are due to both of these dedicated individuals.

Because of the limited distribution of locally produced publications, bibliographic coverage of items which make up these lists is sometimes incomplete. Therefore, all additions or corrections will be welcome. They should be addressed to Gordana Rezab, Archivist and Special Collections Librarian, Western Illinois University Library, Macomb IL 61455.

PIKE COUNTY
General County Histories

Grimshaw, William A. *History of Pike County: a Centennial Address . . . July 4, 1876.* Pittsfield, Ill.: Printed at the Democratic Job Rooms, 1877. 46 p.

History of Pike County, Illinois, Together With Sketches of Its Cities, Villages and Townships. Chicago: C.C. Chapman, 1880. 966 p. (Reprinted by Unigraphic, Inc., Evansville, Ind., 1974.)

Massie, Melville D. *Past and Present of Pike County, Illinois.* Chicago: S.J. Clarke, S.J., 1906. 751 p.

Portrait and Biographical Album of Pike and Calhoun Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Biographical Publishing, 1891. 808 p. (Reprinted by Unigraphic, Inc., Evansville, Ind., 1975.

Thompson, Jess M. *The Jess M. Thompson Pike County History as Printed in Installments in the Pike County Republican, Pittsfield, Illinois, 1935-1939.* Pittsfield, Ill.: Pike County Historical Society, 1967. 563 p.

Special Aspects of the County History

Burlend, Rebecca. *A True Picture of Emigration: or Fourteen Years in the Interior of North America.* London: G. Berger, 1848. 62. p. (Reprinted by the Lakeside Press, Chicago, 1936, and by Citadel Press, New York, 1968.)

Drury, John. *This is Pike County, Illinois: an Up-to-date Historical Narrative With County and Township Maps and Many Unique Aerial Photographs of Cities, Towns, Villages and Farmsteads.* Chicago: The Loree Co., 1955. 521 p.

Hopkins, Cyril G. et al. *Pike County Soils: University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station Soil Report, no. 11.* Urbana, Ill.: The Station, 1915. 48 p.

Inventory of Architecture Before W.W. II in Pike County. Interim Report. Illinois Historic Structures Survey, 1974. 21 leaves.

Inventory of Historic Landmarks in Pike County. Interim Report. n.p.: Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey, 1972. 6 leaves.

Inventory of the County Archives of Illinois: no. 75, Pike County. Chicago: Illinois Historical Records Survey Project, 1938.

Prairie Farmer's Directory of Farmers and Breeders, Pike and Calhoun Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Prairie Farmer, 1918. 359 p. (Reprinted by Unigraphic Inc., Evansville, Ind., 1979.)

Thompson, Jess M. *Nicolay Land Series.* n.p.: Grace E. Matteson, n.d. 85 leaves. (Reprints of articles in the *Pike County Republican*, 1937-1938.)

County Atlases, Maps and Platbooks

(listed in order of publication)

Pike County Land Ownership Map. Buffalo, N.Y.: Holmes and Arnold, 1860.

Atlas Map of Pike County, Illinois. Davenport, Iowa: Anreas, Lyter, 1872, 138 p.

Plat Book of Pike County, Illinois. Chicago: George A. Ogle & Co., 1895. 60 p.

Standard Atlas of Pike County, Illinois. Chicago: George A. Ogle, 1912. 121 p.

Plat Book of Pike County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: W.W. Hixson and Co., 1926.

Plat Book, Pike County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: General Map Company, 1950. 51 p.

Plat Book, Pike County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Derr Map Studio, 1958. 28 p.

Farm Plat Book With Index to Owners, Pike County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1963. 47 p.

Atlas and Plat Book, Pike County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1966.

Triennial Atlas and Plat Book, Pike County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1969. 62 p. Editions with slightly differing titles were published in 1972 and 1974.

County Censuses and Genealogical Publications

Cemetery Records of Pike County, Illinois, by Townships, 1816-1978. Pittsfield, Ill.: Pike County Historical Society, 1979-1980. 6 vol.

Keller, Agnes DuVal. *The Marriage Records of Pike County, Illinois.* Portland, Ore.: Agnes DuVal Keller, 1974. 2 vol.

Selby, Robert E. *1850 Census of Pike County, Illinois.* Kokomo, Ind.: Robert E. Selby, 1979. 394 p.

Publications on Towns and Townships
(listed alphabetically by town name)

New Philadelphia

Matteson, Grace E. *"Free Frank" McWorter and the "Ghost Town" of New Philadelphia,* Pike County, Illinois. Pittsfield, Ill.: Pike County Historical Society, 1964. 34 leaves.

Walker, Juliet E.K. *"Free Frank" and New Philadelphia: Slave and Friedman, Frontiersman and Town Founder.* Diss. University of Chicago, 1976. 407 p.

Pearl

Newnom, Lloyd. *History of Pearl Township and the People That Made That History.* n.p., n.d. 163 leaves.

Pittsfield

Dinsmore, Robert T. *R.T. Dinsmore Memoir: the Life of a County Printer.* Springfield, Ill.: Sangamon State University Oral History Office, 1981. 304 leaves.

The First National Bank of Pittsfield, Illinois, 1865-1940. n.p., 1940? 29 p.

Immaculate Conception Church, Pittsfield, Illinois. *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, 1870-1945.* n.p., 1945?

Pittsfield Community Unit School District. *The Pittsfield Community Unit Surveys Its Schools.* Pittsfield, Ill.: Pittsfield School Survey Committee, 1951. 161 p.

Re-dedication of the Historic East School, July 23, 1978 and A Brief History of the Towns of Pike County. Pittsfield, Ill.: n.p., 1978. 19 p.

Shastid, Thomas Hall. *My Second Life.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr, 1944. 1174 p.

Willard, Dale. *Education and the Educators in Pittsfield, Illinois, 1833-1963.* MA Thesis, MacMurray College, 1964.

Rockport

Haines, Tom. *A History of Gilgal Landing and Rockport, Illinois.* Missoula, Mont.: Gateway Printing, 1971. 103 p.

CALHOUN COUNTY

General County Histories

Carpenter, George W. *History of Calhoun County and Its People Up to the Year 1910.* MA Thesis, University of Illinois, 1933.

Carpenter, George W. *History of Calhoun County.* Jerseyville, Ill.: Democratic Print, 1934. 93 p.

Carpenter, George W. *Calhoun is My Kingdom: the Sesquicentennial History of Calhoun County, Illinois.* n.p.: Board of County Commissioners, Calhoun County, 1967. 124 p.

Portrait and Biographical Album of Pike and Calhoun Counties, Illinois. Chicago.: Biographical Publishing, 1891. 808 p. (Reprinted by Unigraphic Evansville, Ind., 1975.)

Special Aspects of the County History

Buikstra, Jane E. and Lynne Goldstein. *The Perrins Ledge Crematory.* Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Museum, 1973. 40 p. (Reports of Investigations, no 28).

Carpenter, George W. *And They Changed the Named to Gilead; the Story of Cole's Grove and Gilead, First County Seats of Pike and Calhoun Counties, 1821-1847 and the Story of the Child Family of Child's Landing. . . the Founders* of Hardin, Ill. Hardin: George W. Carpenter, 1976. [41] leaves.

Carpenter, George W. *I Want to See a Lawyer: Murder in Calhoun, 1821-1981 and the Story of Our Calhoun Court Systems in the Past 160 Years.* n.p., George W. Carpenter, 1981, [49] leaves.

Inventory of Architecture Before W.W.II in Calhoun, Green County: Interim Report. n.p.: Illinois Historic Structures Survey, 1974. 2 leaves.

Inventory of Historic Landmarks in Calhoun County: Interim Report. n.p.: Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey, 1973. 3 leaves.

Perrin, John Nicholas. *At Perrins Ledge: the Joliet-Marquette Exploring Expedition, 1673.* Belleville: n.p., 1936.

Prairie Farmer's Directory of Farmers and Breeders, Pike and Calhoun Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Prairie Farmer, 1918. 359 p. (Reprinted by Unigraphic, Inc., Evansville, Ind., 1979.)

Smith, R.S. *Calhoun County Soils: University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, Soil Report, no 53.* Urbana, Ill.: The Station, 1932. 18 p.

Vogel, Edward. *Calhoun County: a Study in Geographic Landscapes.* MA Thesis. University of Illinois, 1939.

County Atlases, Maps and Plat Books
(listed in order of publication)

Plat Book of Calhoun County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: W.W. Hixson, 1926.

Farm Plat Book and Business Guide, Calhoun County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1948. 34 p.

Official 3 Year Atlas, Calhoun County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1961.

Land Atlas and Plat Book, Calhoun County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1965.

Atlas and Plat Book, Calhoun County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1972. 26 p. Editions under the same title were published in 1975 and 1978.

County Censuses and Genealogical Publications

United States Census, 1850, Calhoun County, Illinois. Decatur, Ill.: Decatur Genealogical Society, 1971. 68 p.

Publications on Towns and Townships

Brussels

Goetze, Florence. *St. Mathews Lutheran Church: a Century of Blessings, 1861-1961.* Brussels, Ill.: n.p., 1961. 20 p.

Guide to Resources for Regional Studies

The following "Guide to Resources for Western Illinois/Eastern Iowa Regional Studies" was compiled by John Caldwell and was made available to participants at the Fifth Annual Western Illinois Regional Studies Conference, held on April 9 at Black Hawk College in Moline and Augustana College in Rock Island. It is the first bibliographic tool focused on the diversity of historical collections housed in the region. Copies are available for ten cents each through Augustana library.

Andover Historical Society — Historical House Museum
418 Locust St., Andover, IL 61233
Arline Johnson, President (309) 476-8506
Vernette Larson, Secretary (309) 476-8594, Helen Brodd, Treasurer (309) 476-8404
Hours: June 1-Sept. 1, Sunday 1 p.m.-4:30 p.m. Other times by appointment.

Augustana College, Denkmann Memorial Library
7th Ave. and 35th St., Rock Island, IL 61201
Library (309) 794-7266; Special Collections (309) 794-7317
John Caldwell, Director; Marjorie M. Miller, Special Collections Librarian/Archivist
Hours: Monday-Friday 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

The Upper Mississippi Valley collection includes histories, journals, and descriptive accounts from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, on the Upper Mississippi and its valley; the Sauk and Fox Indian tribes; city directories and pictorial accounts of Rock Island, Moline, and Davenport. The manuscript collection includes the John Henry Hauberg papers, with materials on Black Hawk and the Sauk Indians; Rock Island County and its early settlers; and the George

Davenport Indian trade ledgers, and the records of the Moline Water Power Company and the Rock Island Millwork Company.

Bettendorf Public Library
2950 18th St., Bettendorf, IA 52722 (319) 332-7427
Faye Clow, Director; Audrey Stedman, Archivist
Hours: Monday-Thursday 9 a.m.-9 p.m., Friday and Saturday 9 a.m.-5 p.m.
"Iowa Collection" consists of recently compiled histories of Bettendorf, Pleasant Valley and LeClaire, recent Quad-Cities historical and biographical publications, a few Iowa county histories, Mississippi River histories, books by local authors, historical periodicals, and a manuscript history of the Pleasant Valley onion-growing business by Russell Rice. Pamphlet files contain other local historical materials: newspaper clippings, etc. Houses the collection of the Scott County Iowa Genealogical Society.

Bishop Hill Heritage Association
Steeple Building, Bishop Hill, IL 61419 (mail:c/o Edla Warner, BHHA, Box 1853, Bishop Hill, IL 61419) (309) 927-3899
Edla Warner, Archivist; Dina Nelson, Coordinator
Hours: Open by appointment only

Black Howk College Library
6600-34th Ave., Moline, IL 61265 (309) 796-1311
Donald C. Rowland, Director and Archivist
Hours: Monday-Friday 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.
Belgian Historical Collection: Several hundred books and periodicals concerning Belgians in America including a complete original copy of the *Gazette van Moline*. Many items in Flemish and French.

Blackhawk Genealogical Society
Bernice Moseley, Librarian (309) 787-1114
(Mail: P.O. Box 912, Rock Island, IL 61201)
Collection, which includes newspaper, abstracts, local cemetery records, genealogies, family histories, local histories, census records, and the microfilmed index to U.S. records filmed by LDS, is housed in Moline Public Library.

Bradley University, Cullom-Davis Library
1511 W. Bradley Ave. (corner of Glenwood Ave.) Peoria, IL 61625 Virginius H. Chase Special Collections Center (309) 671-5945; Director's Office (309) 671-8577
Robert A. Jones, Director; Charles J. Frey, Special Collections Librarian
Hours: Monday-Friday 9 a.m.-12 noon, 1 p.m.-4:30 p.m.
Archival material relevant to the history of Bradley University. A major collection pertaining to Philander Chase, the first Episcopal bishop of Ohio and Illinois and founder of Kenyon and Jubilee Colleges; materals include manuscripts, books, pamphlets, clippings, maps, and photographic images. The Spooner Library of the Peoria Historical Society is on deposit; it covers city and county history from the time of the French settlement in the late seventeenth century.

Davenport Public Library
321 Main St., Davenport, IA 52801 (319) 326-7832
C.Daniel Wilson, Jr., Director;
Hours: Monday 1 p.m.-4:30 p.m., 6 p.m.-9 p.m.; Tuesday 9 a.m.-noon; Wednesday 1 p.m.-4:30 p.m.; Thursday 9 a.m.-noon; Friday 9 a.m.-noon; Saturday 9 a.m.-noon, 2 p.m.-5 p.m.
Special Collections Room houses materials on Davenport and Iowa history, including a complete set of Davenport city directories; cemetery and marriage records; county histories; and files of clippings and photographs. The room also houses the Library's collection of the works of local authors. The Bix Beiderbecke memorabilia collection hangs on the West wall of the room; books and

documents covering the life of Davenport's most famous resident are contained in the collection.

Deere & Company Archives
1209-13th Ave., East Moline, IL 61244
(mail: Deere & Company, John Deere Road, Moline, IL 61265) (309) 752-4881
Betty Hagberg, Director; Les Stegh, Archivist
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-4:30 p.m. by appointment only
Book and manuscript material on agriculture, John Deere, and Deere & Company.

Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center
Broadway and Fourth, Pekin, IL 61554 (309) 347-7113
Frank H. Mackaman, Archivist
Hours: Manuscript Repository: Tuesday-Friday 9 a.m.-5 p.m. by appointment only; Exhibit Hall: Tuesday-Saturday 9 a.m.-5 p.m. both closed on national holidays.
A non-partisan, not-for-profit educational institution devoted to the study of Congress, especially congressional leadership. The Everett M. Dirksen Collection is the single most important holding but it is complemented by numerous smaller collections. Senator Dirksen's papers (1800 linear feet) document his career in the House of Representatives (1933-48); the Senate (1951-69); and his years as Senate minority leader (1959-69).

Fulton County Historical and Genealogical Society
Mrs. Lawrence I. Bordner, Archivist
Holdings are housed in a special section of the Parlin-Ingersoll Library, 205 W. Chestnut St., Canton, IL 61520 (309) 647-0328
Hours: Monday-Friday 9 a.m.-8 p.m.; Saturday 9 a.m.-4 p.m.; Sunday 1 p.m.-4 p.m.

Hancock County Historical Society
Third Floor, Courthouse, Carthage, IL 62321
Robert M. Cochran, Corresponding Secretary
Isabel Young, researcher
Hours: Monday-Thursday 8 a.m.-2:30 p.m.; Friday by appointment
Nearly complete file of bound county newspapers 1854-1970. Genealogical card index, 40 scrapbooks of obituaries, marriages, reunions, etc.

Historical Society of Quincy & Adams County
425 S. 12th St., Quincy, IL 62301 (217) 222-1835
Ms. Debby Tompkins, Director
Hours: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 10 a.m.-1 p.m. Tours Saturday, Sunday 1 p.m.-4 p.m.

Galesburg Public Library
40 E. Simmons St., Galesburg, IL 61401 (309) 343-6118
Bruce Barkley, Director; Jane Willenborg, Speical Collections Librarian
Hours: Monday-Thursday 9 a.m.-9 p.m.; Friday & Saturday 9 a.m.-5 p.m.
Collection of Illinois county histories and atlases. An extensive collection of Lincoln and Sandburg materials. Minor collections; Mary Ann Bickerdyke collection manuscript collections, and the Gliessman negative collection. Pamphlet, ephemera, photograph, slide and negative files. Oral histories and slide shows were begun in 1976. Microfilm of the U.S. census of various Illinois counties 1840-1880, the Illinois census from 1825-1865, and the U.S. census of other assorted states are also collected. Special Collections Room is not open to the public but reference assistance is available to assist patrons in any way possible.

Jacksonville Area Genealogical and Historical Society
(mail: P.O. Box 21, Jacksonville, IL 62651)
Mrs. Florence Hutchison, President (217) 243-2502
Mrs. Mary Frances Alkire, Librarian (217) 245-5939
Hours: Daytime, Monday-Friday, by appointment

Kewanee Historical Society
211 N. Chestnut St., Kewanee, IL 61443 (309) 854-9701
Robert C. Richards Sr., Archivist
Hours: Winter-Saturday 1:30 p.m.-4 p.m.; other times by appointment

Knox College, Seymour Library
West & Berrien Sts., Galesburg, IL 61401 (309) 343-0112
Douglas L. Wilson, Director; Mrs. Lynn Metz, Archivist
Hours: During College Sessions: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-10 p.m.; Saturday 10 a.m.-10 p.m.; Sunday 11 a.m.-12 p.m. Summer: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-4:30 p.m.
Books, pamphlets and maps on the Old Northwest. Archives on the history of Knox College and Galesburg.

Marycrest College, Cone Library
1607 W. 12th St., Davenport, IA 52804 (319) 326-9254
Sister Joan Sheil, C.H.M., Director; Sister Annette Gallagher, C.H.M., Archivist
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-4:30 p.m.
Official records of Marycrest College from its foundation in 1939 to the present, including minutes of committees and boards, faculty publications, college newspaper and yearbooks, news releases, and scrapbooks of clippings elated to college activities. Limited material on the Sisters of the Congregation of the Humility of Mary and on the Diocese of Davenport. Small collection of books on Iowa history and the history of Scott County.

Moline Public Library
504 17th St., Moline, IL 61265 (309) 762-4983
Marie A. Hoscheid, Archivist
Hours: Monday-Thursday 8:30 a.m.-9 p.m.; Friday 8:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.; Saturday 8:30 a.m.-5 p.m.
Local history and genealogy room with a relatively in-depth collection; the Blackhawk GeneologicaL Society houses approximately 200 of their books at the Library. The Library holds microfilm copies of the Rock Island County census for 1840-1900 and the Moline *Dispatch* 1894- with indexing complete from 1967.

Monmouth College, Hewes Library
700 E. Broadway, Monmouth, IL 61462 (309) 457-2031
Harris Hauge, Director
Hours: Monday-Thursday 8 a.m.-10 p.m.; Friday 8 a.m.-5 p.m.
Monmouthiana Collection: material relating to the founding and history of Monmouth College.

Pekin Public Library
301 South 4th St., Pekin, IL 61554 (309) 347-7111
Mrs. Paula K. Weiss, Director
Hours: Tuesday-Thursday 9 a.m.-9 p.m.; Friday 9 a.m.-6 p.m.; Saturday 9 a.m.-5 p.m.
Local history materials on Pekin and Tazewell County.

Peoria Historical Society
Collection housed in Special Collection Center, Cullom-Davis Library, Bradley University, Peoria, IL 61625 (309) 671-5945
Hours: Appointment recommended

Peoria Public Library
107 N.E. Monroe, Peoria, IL 61602 (309) 672-8858
Alexander Crosman, Director
Hours: Monday-Thursday 9 a.m.-9 p.m.; Friday & Saturday 9 a.m.-6 p.m.
In the Reference Department: county histories, state brochures and other travel information, clippings on cities and towns, college catalogs of the Western Illinois region. Some genealogical information: county census films, biographical accounts

of the early pioneers, and other records of this area. Books on Western Illinois literature and history, Bishop Hill, Dickson Mounds and the Spoon River Valley.

Quincy College, Brenner Library
1831 College Avenue, Quincy, IL 62301 (217) 222-8020 x345
Rev. Victor Kingery, O.F.M., Director and Archivist
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-5 p.m.
Books, scrapbooks, manuscripts and personal correspondence on local and Illinois history, especially the Civil War. Vertical file material: news clippings and some typewritten notes on people and events in Quincy and vicinity.

Quincy Public Library
526 Jersey, Quincy, IL 62301 Office (217) 223-1309; Reference (217) 222-0226
Michael G. Garrison, Director; Betty Albsmeyer, Reference Librarian
Hours: Winter-Monday-Friday 9 a.m.-9 p.m.; Saturday 9 a.m.-6 p.m.; Sunday 1 p.m.-5 p.m.
Summer-Monday 9 a.m.-9 p.m.; Tuesday-Saturday 9 a.m.-6 p.m.
Special collections in area history, genealogy, art, architecture. Microfilmed local newspaper, Quincy *Herald-Whig*, 1835- ; Chicago *Tribune*, 1972- . Microfilmed census for Great River Library System area. State Documents Depository.

Rock Island County Historical Society
822 11th Ave., Moline, IL 61265 (309) 764-8590
N. Lucille Sampson, Librarian/Archivist
Hours: Thursday 9 a.m.-4:30 p.m. or by appointment

Rock Island Public Library
4th Ave. and 19th St., Rock Island, IL 61201 (309) 788-7627
James F. Warwick, Director; Meg Sarff, Special Collections Librarian
Hours: Monday-Thursday 10 a.m.-9 p.m.; Friday and Saturday 10 a.m.-5:30 p.m.
Contains 1750 items covering events and individuals important in the history and development of Illinois in general and the Rock Island area in particular. The *Argus* is presently indexed from 1861-1927, 1960- and the obituary file covers the same years. The collection includes histories of the Illinois counties, many books useful in genealogical searches, the U.S. census for Rock Island County (on microfilm) and books by local authors.

St. Ambrose College Library
518 W. Locust Street, Davenport, IA 52804 (319) 383-8795
Mrs. Corinne J. Potter, Director and Archivist
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-5 p.m.
Local area history; Catholic church historical materials; and St. Ambrose College archives. The collection contains approximately 2,000 volumes. Use is limited to in-house research. Access to the collection titles is through the main library catalog.

Schuyler County Jail Museum
200 S. Congress St., Rushville, IL 62681 (217) 322-6975
Mrs. David C. Ward, Librarian; Mrs. Helma Mermillion, Curator
Hours: Open 7 days a week 1 p.m.-5 p.m., April through November; Sunday 1 p.m.-5 p.m., December through March if weather permits.

Scott County Iowa Genealogical Society
Joan Loete, Archivist (309) 762-9146
Collection housed in Bettendorf Public Library, 1950 18th St., Bettendorf, IA 52722 (319) 332-7427

Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center
Augustana College Library, 7th Ave. and 35th St., Rock Island, IL 61201 (309) 794-7204, (309) 794-7221

Rev. Joel W. Lundeen, Acting Director; Kermit B. Westerberg, Archivist
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-12 noon, 1 p.m.-4:30 p.m.

Microfilms of Swedish-American newspapers (20 from western Illinois, 1 from eastern Iowa); and Swedish church records (Augustana Lutheran Church). Manuscript collections of early Illinois pioneers of Swedish descent including the microfilmed Bishop Hill Colony and Post Colony Papers (covering material in Bishop Hill, Rock Island, and Galesburg). Augustana Lutheran church anniversary booklets, arranged by state and city. Historical monographs, studies and compilations on immigration and settlement of Swedes in Illinois and Iowa, with particular emphasis on biography and church life.

Warren County Library
60-62 West Side Square, Monmouth, IL 61462 (309) 734-6412
Camille J. Radmacher, Administrative Consultant; Ezevel Murphy, Special Collections Librarian
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-8 p.m.; Saturday 8 a.m.-5 p.m.

Small collection on Lincoln and local history includes oral history material. Materials are not circulated but available for reference all hours the Library is open.

Western Illinois University Library
Western Ave., Macomb, IL 61455 (309) 298-2411 x272-273
Patricia Goheen, Library Director; John Hallwas, Director of Regional Collections; Gordana Rezab, Archivist, and Special Collections Librarian
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 a.m.-5 p.m.

Collections pertaining to the sixteen county area of Western Illinois known as the Military Tract. Focused collections are the Center for Icarian Studies (Robert P. Sutton, director), Center for Regional Authors (John Hallwas, director) and Center for Hancock County History and the papers of Congressman Thomas Railsback. These, and the general regional collection, consist of a variety of materials and media; books, manuscripts, maps, tape and video recordings, newspapers, periodicals, and a large collection of photographs. Illinois Regional Archives Depository (IRAD) houses, and makes available for research, local government records from the sixteen county area.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Jubilee Diary. By David Pichaske. Ellis Press, Peoria, IL $5.95.

Jubilee College was founded in 1839 by Philander Chase, first Episcopal bishop of Illinois, on a rolling tract of land about ten miles west of Peoria. The institution represented an ambitious academic undertaking, comprising as it did a prep school for boys, a finishing school for girls, the college proper, and a divinity school. The last, though it proved to be the least successful of the four components, was the one to which Chase attached the most importance, concerned as he was in building up a strong clerical base for the new diocese. At the time he founded Jubilee, Chase was sixty-five years old and had already behind him extensive experience as a pioneer bishop and educator, having served as the first bishop of Ohio and having founded, in 1824, Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio. Jubilee was not to enjoy the same success as Kenyon. Though it thrived during the bishop's tenure as its head, it was closed "temporarily" in 1862, two years after his death, until the cessation of hostilities between North and South. It was never to open again as the institution which Chase had envisioned. Eventually, the property belonging to the College devolved to the State of Illinois, and today, Jubilee State Park, consisting of over 3000 acres, is visited by some 300,000 people per year. A central feature of the park — one might call it its center-piece — is the handsome, limestone college building built by Bishop Chase. For years this building was in a sad state of disrepair, but thanks to the work of the Citizens' Committee dedicated to its restoration, the hope is that it will one day stand pretty much as it stood 140 years ago.

Jubilee Diary, though it is very much concerned with Jubilee College and Bishop Chase, and though it makes imaginative use of historical documents (principally in the form of Chase's letters), is not a history in the strict sense. But that it has to do with history in the larger sense — the passage of time, the coming and going of seasons, the arrival and departure of human beings and their works and institutions — is evident on every page. As a diary it has a marked personal bent to it. We find recorded in the book the arresting reflections of someone who might be described as an eminently modern man but who — and here is the rub — is paradoxically not all that enamored by every aspect of modernity. Pichaske uses Jubilee State Park and Bishop Philander Chase and all they mean for him — in both cases it is much — as centering realities around

which, for the period of a year, he constructs his wide-ranging meditations.

The precipitating event for the book was a crisis of consciousness. Pichaske, a professor of English, a writer, an editor, a publisher, the type of man who at any given time has more irons in the fire than less imaginative mortals can keep track of, is suddenly brought up short by the sheer busyness of his life. He thinks that perhaps "life" in any meaningful sense is possibly being gobbled up by the relentless press of multiple activities, and the thought is unsettling. He decides to do something about it by injecting some Thoreauvian "deliberateness" into his routine. Unlike Thoreau himself, who was relatively free of pressing personal obligations, he cannot afford the luxury of spending two years at a Walden of his choice for the purpose of bringing about some direct confrontations with the eternal verities. So, he does what he can. He decides that one day a week, no matter how put upon by demands which seem inevitably to lead to a crunch, he will effectively escape from the hurly-burly and spend a few hours at Jubilee Park. He does this, for the period from April 10, 1980 to April 19, 1981, and the thoughts and emotions which form the fundamental stuff of these weekly excursions are what we have recorded in *Jubliee Diary.*

Pichaske goes off faithfully to Jubilee Park every week for a period of a year not simply to seek out some therapeutically beneficial "quiet time." It is true that there is something which he wants to get away from — a world which is altogether "too much with us" — but, more pointedly, there is something which he wants to *get to*. He leaves behind the artificial time created by a clock-dominated society and gives himself over to the larger, more elemental rhythms of the seasons; he supplants the mechanical with the natural. What we bear witness to in *Jubilee Diary* is a man who is trying to come to terms with himself, with the contours of his life, but not in a kind of splendid, self-serving isolation. He discovers what Thoreau discovered, that a questing solitude set in nature proves to be an opening-up, not a closing-down experience. Giving close study to the texture of bark on a tree, chatting amiably with animal life of various shapes and sorts, slogging through mud, being baked by the noon-high smiles of a summer sun, being stung by below-zero winds — these things have a way of waking us up to what Hopkins called the "freshness deep down things." One discovers a new affinity with the world as created, and with one's fellow creatures.

This is an eminently American book. I mean this not only in the sense that it fits quite comfortably into a definite tradition in our national literature. It is an American book also because it is so much concerned about our country and its culture — the way we are, the way we should perhaps better be.

> I wonder about myself, settling into habit, approaching forty, angry at the new age of snowmobiles, computors, television, electronic games, technology. Can I continue to adapt myself to my environment or my environment to me? Do I have the strength to struggle against habit, against the museum in my basement and in my heart, against the thickening atmosphere around me? Do I have the strength to move, the will to act? And where am I to go, spiritually, physically? What world am I to make?

This is an intensely personal statement, almost embarrassingly so, but Pichaske does not speak only for himself. The questions he asks are questions which each of us can ask himself, and should. All of us, to some degree or another, have to contend with the museums in our basements and in our hearts, carefully going through the collection, deciding what is to be kept and what, for the good of the soul, should be pitched. But it is not simply our personal welfare which is at stake in this at times all too frenetic drama in which we find ourselves involved. The day of the "separate peace" is gone forever, and the destiny of the individual is inelectuably caught up in the destiny of the society. At another point in the book he speaks of "The flaw, our fondness for the slick and the superficial. A national disease." And he asks: "Fatal?" The question is left handing, as of necessity it must be, for we are currently in the process — as individuals, as a society — of formulating our answers to it.

Jubliee Diary is a beautiful book, for the manner in which it is written. Pichaske's prose has a pleasant directness to it; it is unpretentious and clean. One has the impression that Pichaske never says anything merely for the sake of superficial effect. He is in earnest, wrestling as he is here with the most basic kinds of ideas and emotions with which we human beings have perennially concerned ourselves. But it is also a beautiful book as a physical object. It is nicely laid out, nicely printed, and the photographs with which it is graced (most of them taken by the author) add appreciably to the quality of immediacy, its *cor ad cor* straightforwardness, which is its chief appeal.

Dennis Q. McInerny
Bradley University

THE POEMS OF H.: THE LOST POET OF LINCOLN'S SPRINGFIELD. By John E. Hallwas, Editor. Peoria: Ellis Press, 1982. Pp 243. $22.95.

The Poems of H. is both a collection of presentable newspaper verses by an anonymous immigrant poet and an interesting story of scholarly detective work. "H," in Hallwas' words, is "the lost poet of

Lincoln's Springfield" (the book's subtitle), publishing seventy-one poems in the *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield) from 1831 to 1846 and usually signing the verse simply with an "H." In 1832, however, H. published a sonnet with an added footnote: "First published in the London Literary Gazette." And using H's cue, Hallwas relates how the *Gazette* was searched — only to discover that at least two British poets of the time were publishing verses signed "H." We then follow Hallwas' logic as he sorts out twenty-three verses in the *Gazette* — from 1818 to 1825 — verses that probably were written by the Springfield H. (I use "probably" because one or two of Hallwas' uses of the words "undoubtedly" and "unquestionably" seem at least questionable to me.) Since the one sonnet appeared in both the *Gazette* and the *Journal*, the poet's extant canon, reproduced in Hallwas' edition, is ninety-three verses.

Internal evidence in the poems reveals that H. was the taverner at Jabez Capps' Grocery in Springfield, that he had a cat Scracco and a dog Jemmy, and that he was a confirmed bachelor whose beloved suffered an untimely death. He was raised in Cornwall and may have come to America in search of political freedom. He was extremely well read in European literature and travelled extensively in this country. By 1845, he seems to have left the cold Springfield climate for points South. Other biographical evidence is sketchy at best, and it is doubtful that anyone will ever know more about Mr. H.

The poet wrote more sonnets than anything else, most of which are simply entitled "Sonnet." The following one, which appeared in 1846, is one of his better short poems:

> To struggle on, to struggle on for aye —
> This seems of man th' inexorable doom.
> And yet how quickly glides his life away —
> No rest between the cradle and the tomb.
> In youth, too eager and with spirits light,
> We still anticipate a brighter sphere,
> Filling the mind with fancies all too bright,
> And revel in the visions insincere.
> Yet in the real can only truth be found.
> When sad experience lifts the veil between,
> No longer then we tread on fairy ground,
> But view with sober eye the common scene.
> Plain truth alone and unadorned we see,
> Life's vulgar prose and stern reality.

This edition of H's poetry is divided thematically: "Early Poems," "Satirical Poems," "Poems on Nature," "Short Philosophical Lyrics," "Poems on Legend and Mythology," "Poems on Transience and Remembrance," "Two Lyrics on the Black Hawk War," and "Miscellaneous Short Lyrics." A useful "Appendix" lists the poems in chronological order of publication; and a "Glossary," largely comprised of

Scots terms, defines many of H's dialect words. Finally, the edition includes many useful notes, though one wonders why Hallwas translates "se ipse" but notes that two lines of 17th-century French may be found in "the works of Antoinette Deshouliers (1638-1694)."

Dennis Camp
Sangamon State University

MORMONISM AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE
By Klaus J. Hansen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1981. Pp. xviii, 257. $15.00

This volume in the "Chicago History of American Religion" series utilizes a vast array of hypotheses, which have been put forth in scholarly attempts to analyze both nineteenth-century America and the phenomenon of religion in America. While the constant reference to such endeavors and their initiators might become burdensome for the casual reader, to one interested in an academically rigorous history, this is a collection of semi-independent essays to be carefully pondered. In addition to an analysis of the birth of Mormonism, there are specific treatments of the Mormon rationalization of death, the Mormon concept of the kingdom of God, the changing perspectives on sexuality and marriage, and the transformation of racial thought and practice.

Basic to the author's concern is to place these topics in the context of the American experience. The assertion is made that "the birth of Mormonism coincided with the birth of modern America" (p. 45), which refers to the Jacksonian Age. For Mormonism, this meant rejecting the era and becoming instead a restorationist movement seeking to return to the primitive gospel, not only of the first century Christian community, but of the Garden of Eden. While there were several contemporary denominational expressions in the Ohio-Mississippi Valley seeking an understanding of the faith which included a freedom from the tradition and culture of the past so that the gospel could blossom anew, for the followers of Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon confirmed "what they believed already, or what they wanted to believe" (p. 40). Also, in not being persuaded by the individualistic and revivalistic emphasis of the rapidly expanding Methodists and Baptists, the Mormons kept alive the Deistic emphasis on God as He who brings order out of chaos, and so built a society based on an hierarchical corporate structure of authority and cooperation in which each person finds his place.

Those who followed Brigham Young to the Great Salt Lake Valley found the isolation wherein lay the opportunity to further articulate the Mormon way. However, Hansen also insists it is here the Mor-

mons reaped the harvest of those modern habits of initiative and self-discipline which have made them at home in middle-class and pluralistic America, even to the extent that Mormonism should now be considered in the mainstream of American religion.

A telling summary is: "Mormonism seems to appeal to individuals who have been dislocated in a rapidly changing world, who are searching for stability and order, but who are at the same time looking for a better future" (pp. 202-03). The story of Mormonism is not, however, only the story of a people resistant to nineteenth-century culture, who have finally caught up, but rather, the Mormons have also articulated the American dream, and in some sense society has caught up with them, or would do well to listen carefully to this faith born and raised in our midst.

Myron J. Fogde
Augustana College

QUAD CITIES: JOINED BY A RIVER. Edited by Frederick J. Anderson. Davenport: Lee Enterprises, Incorporated, 1982. Pp. 264. $24.95.

Hannibal, Quincy, Warsaw, Keokuk, and Nauvoo are places of historic and literary significance that were spawned and nurtured by the Mississippi River. So, as well, is a site on the river that began as a fort on a "rock island" at the foot of a rapids which ultimately evolved into a metropolitan complex of 390,000 people — the Quad Cities.

Quad Cities; Joined by a River is a narrative and pictorial history that is presented in three major sections. The first section, aptly entitled "Formed by a River," traces the geologic history of the area with emphasis on the formation of the Rock Island Rapids, discusses the early Indian and later European and American settlement patterns and the establishment of Fort Armstrong, and concludes with a lengthy description of the Black Hawk War.

The second section, and the principal focus of the book, features descriptions of Rock Island, Davenport, Moline, Bettendorf, and East Moline from the time of their settlement through the early 1900s. Also included is the historic development of Arsenal Island. Prominent coverage is given to the personalities whose names are synonomous with the economic, social, and cultural heritage of the Quad Cities.

The third and final section is a continuation of the Quad Cities historic development, first for the period 1920 to 1960, and then from 1960 to the present. Contributors are listed, as are illustration credits. The section concludes with brief histories of leading enterprises and organizations who supported publication of the book.

Quad Cities: Joined by a River was a massive undertaking and the authors of individual chapters are to be commended for the quality of their work. It is obvious that the book was a labor of love for the authors and others involved in its preparation. The book is handsomely bound, the paper is of the finest quality, and the printing and reproduction of photographs is excellent. It deserves a prominent place on the bookshelves of Quad Citians and others whose sense of place is bound to our greatest of rivers.

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CONTRIBUTORS

ROGER D. LAUNIUS is an historian with the Military Airlift Command, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois. He is the author of many articles on Mormon history and the co-editor of *An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer* (1980). His biography of Joseph Smith III will be published by the University of Illinois Press.

GEORGE MONTEIRO, Professor of English at Brown University, has published several articles on John Hay, and he is the author of *Henry James and John Hay: The Record of a Friendship* (1965).

SCOTT OWEN REED is a law clerk in the office of Appellate Justice Thomas M. Welch in Collinsville. In 1980 he received a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Illinois College of Law.

WILLIAM ROBA received his Ph.D. from the University of Iowa and teaches both English and history at Scott Community College in Bettendorf, Iowa. He has previously published on Harry Hansen and the history of Davenport.

ROBERT P. SUTTON, Professor of History at Western Illinois University, is the author of *The Prairie State: A Documentary History of Illinois* (1976) as well as various articles on state and regional history. He is Director of the Center for Icarian Studies at the University Library and has recently completed a translation of Etienne Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie*.